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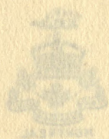
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ADDRESSES  
DELIVERED BEFORE  
THE CANADIAN CLUB  
OF MONTREAL



SEASON  
1913-1914

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THE CANADIAN CLUB  
OF MONTREAL



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SEASON  
1913-1914



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## PREFACE

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THE present volume of addresses seems to me (and it is not likely to have many more diligent readers) more varied in interest than its predecessors. If so, this will be due in part to the rosy atmosphere of the room in which the Club now lunches to its great comfort; the dignity of the room and the size of the audience provoking our speakers to do their best. Something also, then, will be due to the added geniality and responsiveness of an audience free at last from the struggle of former years with a lunch that was a discipline whose reward might prove inadequate.

A piquant variation of the normal course was brought about by the breaking of the water conduit. Under stress of the peril a meeting was called and great enthusiasm shown for reform. But the results of the elections showed the misunderstanding between the races, which at the annual banquet Mr. Bourassa attempted to clear. This, the first annual banquet, was a great success—a fitting crown to what was in all respects a record year.

We have heard with very great regret of the death of one of our speakers, Sir Thomas Crossley Rayner, who died at his post in British Guiana.

J. A. DALE,  
*Literary Correspondent.*





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OF THE

## CANADIAN CLUB OF MONTREAL

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[April 30, 1913]

## IMPERIAL PROBLEMS

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By COLONEL JAMES ALLEN,  
Minister of Finance and Defence of New Zealand.

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**F**IRST of all I wish to thank you for the very hearty welcome you have given me, and to express the hope that it is not only to me but to all New Zealanders, for I only represent for the time being my own country. It is a very great pleasure to me to realize that we are thinking out the same problems, and trying to deal with them in a satisfactory way.

One of your big questions it seems to me is the East and West question. The people of the East may think that the problems of the West are not of the same importance and moment to the East, but the time must come when they must see that the West cannot stand without the East, or the East without the West. Therefore I speak to you of questions of common interest, and absolutely from no party point of view. It would be very wrong of me to mix up in your Canadian politics. I wish you a successful outcome to all your troubles, and, whatever decisions may be come to, that it may be the right decision for the advantage of the great Empire to which we are all proud to belong.

So in anything I may say to you, even though it may appear to be political I am not saying it to influence any party, but to give you our experience in New Zealand where we never made it a party question. To the Britisher who has gone to the Mother Country there appears to be a bigger question than even the consolidation of the east and west of Canada, and that is whether we are going to split up into separate kingdoms, and eventually into separate nationalities, or whether we are going to stand together. It is a matter of vital interest to New Zealand for this reason. We are a comparatively small island; our population can never be a large one, and already we have had forced on our minds the necessities of the future. You in this great Dominion



## *Imperial Problems*

have not had your minds turned as we have to the days that are to come, when we may be threatened with some danger to our privileges, rights and freedom. In New Zealand we realize that as a small country we are nothing compared to the great world powers unless we are going to stay a part of the great combined Empire which I hope to see. You Canadians may have ideas of separate nationalities or separate countries. I am not concerned with that. I am concerned that you should be prepared when the time comes to stand by us. We may want your help and moral support, and something more than that some day. Can we expect it? For my own country I want to say this: We are so impressed with the necessities of the Imperial problem and the need of the great dominions standing by one another that I give to you the assurance that when the day comes that we are called upon to make a sacrifice we shall be glad to do it. We have made some sacrifices already. We have taken one step towards Empire consolidation. We are prepared to take another step. If ever the Mother Country finds herself in difficulty in any part of the world, and wants any help from us it will be given. Canada so far has not done much in this great naval question. You are in the throes of the debate now. I do not want to interfere. All I would say is that we in New Zealand will deem it a happy day when we know you have taken one step forward, because it will be an assurance that Canada is going to stand by the Empire and by us. Some day a little later on you will be asked to do what we are doing now, or will be doing as soon as I get back, and that is to determine your permanent policy. I can give you no hint to-day what ours will be, for I have to lay before my colleagues the result of my mission to England. I hope you will find we are prepared to make definite and clear sacrifices, and that we shall be in a position to come and help you should you ever require our assistance. It will be readily given as from brother to brother and sister to sister. I know how difficult the question is here. I know it took us a great deal of time to make up our minds.

There is in Canada as in New Zealand an earnest desire to do our duty towards our own country, to build up our own local patriotism, and to use this in the interests of the great organization which must exist if we are to control the seas; and therefore

we hope to develop our own local units which will protect the Pacific as the Atlantic is at present protected. That is the big thing to-day. We cannot do it alone in New Zealand or Australia, but already Australia is spending nearly £3,000,000 and New Zealand £250,000 on naval defence. There is £3,250,000 in one year from two small dominions. Australia and New Zealand have no dreams of anything but protection of our own country and the trade routes for sending goods to the Mother Country and getting back what she produces. These trade routes must be kept open. They are one of the bonds of Empire.

Not many years ago our leading statesmen were invited to an Imperial conference. Since then we are asked to go on the Committee of Imperial Defence, and I have had the honor to be invited twice. There have been questions settled in the Committee of Imperial Defence of interest to New Zealand, which I do not believe could have been settled in any other way. We are now in the position of being asked to the councils of the Mother Country and being permitted through these councils to advise our own governments as to what we think they ought to do. We are not going to remain satisfied with an advisory council. We cannot take these steps too rapidly. I leave the ultimate form to your own ideas.

What are we doing in return? I have nothing to say about what you are doing. But I have something to say about what my own country is doing. You know that some time ago we made a certain gift to the Mother Country, absolutely unreserved. We have no claim whatever upon the New Zealand battleship. She belongs absolutely to the British Admiralty. We have commenced our national training. Now I hope we shall propose a permanent policy, and that no doubt will include the training of our own personnel. I do not believe any Dominion makes sacrifices unless it gives some of its own personnel to the defence of the Empire. We have adopted a national training system. We tried a volunteer system—I was a volunteer officer for twenty-five years. Our volunteer system failed because it was unsound in one principle—it was asking one man to make a sacrifice, and leaving another man to enjoy the privileges. So we determined that every young man from eighteen to twenty-five must make some sacrifice to prepare himself to defend his

country. We started by including boys of twelve to fourteen in a cadet scheme. I did away with that when I became minister and put in place of it physical drill for every boy and girl in the primary schools. From fourteen to eighteen they have senior cadet drill. They do not go to camp. At eighteen they become territorials, and this is compulsory for every young man, rich or poor, unless he is exempt through medical inspection. Some call it conscription. I do not; I do not like the word. It is national training to produce the citizen, and I do not think any man a citizen who is not prepared to defend his own country. They have a certain number of evening drills, a certain number of afternoon drills, but the essential thing is that they have to come into camp from nine to fourteen days. There were some objectors at first, so to them we said: We are not going to force you to take up arms; but you must do something for your country, so we are going to ask you to clear the roads, or break stones, or beautify the parks. We have had the scheme going for two years, and so far as I know it is an unqualified success. The clergy at first looked upon the scheme with grave suspicion, but we invited them out to our camps, and they have been able to reach young men in the way they never could before. Another result is that as a consequence of the discipline the men on their return to civil employment are a great deal more satisfactory workmen than before.

I have not time to tell to you Canadians the conception I have in my own mind of your future. Here you sit between the two great seas. Your opportunities are greater than those of any other quarter of our great Empire, but those opportunities carry with them great responsibilities. We look to you to set us an example. New Zealand is only a comparatively small place, and we are watching with the greatest interest to see what Canada is going to do. We believe that you can give the lead in Empire consolidation. I believe that you have awakened to a sense of your responsibilities, and that your people are seriously thinking out these great problems.

We are not setting out on any scheme of aggression or aggrandizement, but we do want to enjoy in our own homes those privileges and freedoms that have come down to us and that are dear to every one of Britain's sons.



(Special Meeting held in St. Lawrence Hall)

[ *June 9, 1913* ]

## BRITISH GUIANA

---

BY SIR THOMAS CROSSLEY RAYNER

Chief Justice of British Guiana

---

**I** SHALL try to give you a few helpful facts about British Guiana, in which I have been interested for the last ten years. As you know, we, on the other side of the Atlantic, have been hoping for great things from this treaty of reciprocity between the West Indies and Canada.

British Guiana, or Demerara, is the only British possession in South America. People sometimes speak of Demerara when they mean the whole colony, but in reality it is only the central one of three counties, and the one in which the capital, Georgetown, is situated. The situation of the colony is best explained by telling you that on the north we have Venezuela, then on the South side we touch Surinam or Dutch Guiana, on one side the sea, and on the other Brazil. We are the only red spot on the map of South America. The colony has an area of about 90,000 square miles, or about the same size as Great Britain without Wales. It is rather larger than the area of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Unfortunately, of that territory only a small part is effectively occupied. We have only a strip along the sea coast cultivated, chiefly with sugar. Everybody has heard of Demerara sugar. It is the largest product of British Guiana. In most of the West Indian Islands they are finding sugar is not profitable, but British Guiana still sticks to it. Trinidad has gone in for cocoa; some are growing cotton. Although we have such a large area our population is very small, only about 296,000, so that the total population is smaller than that of some of your large cities. Of these about 14,000 are persons of European descent; 126,000 are East Indians, and practically all the rest are Africans, descendants of those who came over in the old slave-holding days.

It is exceptionally difficult to develop this enormous area with such a small population. We must develop the colony, but how it is to be done opinions are by no means agreed on. One of our various schemes is a railway. For my own part I do not see how else we are to develop it. We have fourteen lines, but they only run along the coast and do not enable us to reach the hinterland. If we are to do any good we must get a railway to the interior. We should have a railway to go right through to Brazil. There are splendid opportunities for cattle raising, but all the cattle have to be taken to Brazil for a market. The only routes to the interior are the rivers. We have a number of fine rivers but unfortunately there is great difficulty navigating them, because of the cataracts and water-falls. If we had a railway we could tap a very fertile country.

Except sugar, our only products are balato, which grows wild in the colony, and as a matter of fact I believe British Guiana and Venezuela are the only countries which produce it. We are also trying to start a rubber industry, and we hope at no distant time we shall add it to our other interests. We also have a few gold mines in the interior, but unfortunately they have not been very profitable. A good deal of gold has been got out, but not in quantities which have paid for any amount of development. The chief people who have made money are black men who have engaged in gravel washes. A few companies put in machinery, but in a short time they got out all the gold there was and the machinery was left to rot. We still hope that the gold industry will be developed. We have also a small quantity of diamonds, but these are not large enough to use as ornaments, and are chiefly used in the manufacture of drills. We hope larger diamonds may yet be found. We are beginning to do a trade in timber, and one of the American syndicates is working to get it out. We have a large number of valuable timbers; one of them, the greenheart, only grows in this part. It is very hard, and is used in the construction of lock gates. A great deal of it is being used in the Panama canal.

The railway is a serious problem, because of our small number of inhabitants. Taxation reaches a limit, and it has pretty nearly reached it. So far no one has proposed to build a railway without some kind of guarantee from the Government



of payment of interest on capital expended. We are quite willing to give grants of land, but no one seems to be willing to make a railway simply in return for land. The problem is whether the colony can afford to pay the guarantee required.

You naturally expect me to say something about reciprocity with Canada. I cannot say very much. I am only a lawyer. I cannot speak as a sugar planter or merchant would about the advantage it should be to both parties. Of course there are differences of opinion on this as on other subjects. I have heard some West Indians say it looks as if Canada wanted the whole of the preference, and since I have been in Canada I have heard exactly the same in the opposite way. But in spite of these I believe it will be a great advantage to the West Indies, and also to the great Dominion which has so generously come to the aid of the Cinderella of the Empire. In British Guiana we have never had any doubt about it. When the matter was first brought forward we hoped to decide definitely. We had a meeting of the Legislature. I was a member. I went with a speech prepared in which I had set out all the arguments in favor. I found no use for it. Everyone was in favor, and we passed unanimously a vote that British Guiana enter into the arrangement.

Of course it is impossible to foretell the results. Expectations may not be realized at once. It may not work out in dollars and cents as those people think who expected it to make them rich beyond the dreams of avarice. But I believe it will work out in other ways to advantage. It will certainly help towards welding the bonds of Empire closely. We in the West Indies, and you in Canada are doing our best to help that great movement. I believe it will work out eventually in material prosperity, although possibly the sugar planter may not find immediately that he will get much more for his sugar and the Canadian flour merchant may not get much more for his flour. Closer relations must mean more trade. We shall soon begin to find many more things that we can produce, and that Canada can supply us with many things we now buy elsewhere.

One thing about closer social relations. I believe one of the objects of the Canadian West Indian League is to promote greater social intercourse between Canada and the West Indies,

## *British Guiana*

and that every year a large number of Canadians are visiting the West Indies. I have just experienced some of the rigors of your Canadian climate. I crossed Lake Superior and caught a bad influenza cold, and the experience made me afraid of what your winter would be like. If you want to escape the rigors of a Canadian winter go to the West Indies. We have had the pleasure of seeing a number of distinguished Canadians, and some of them in Demerara. Unfortunately we are at the end of the steamship line, and anybody that goes there goes right back again. But if you ever go to the West Indies, I beg of you not to stop at Trinidad but come right on to Demerara.

They tell me that in some of the West Indian islands, travellers talking of going on to British Guiana are warned that they will get fever, and there is one store in Barbados where they sell crocodiles and snakes which they gravely tell the tourist were caught in the streets of Georgetown. Of course there are some in the interior, but there are certainly none in Georgetown, and those shown in Barbados certainly did not come from British Guiana.

If any of you go down to British Guiana we shall be delighted, and you will get a warm welcome. I believe there are some in the room who have been. We can show you some natural beauties which I venture to say are second to none in your own country. We can show you a waterfall not one whit behind Niagara. It is five times the height, and though there is not the same quantity of water it is one of the most glorious in the world. Speaking candidly, if you come to see it I am sure you will admit it is not beaten by Niagara.

I hope what I have said may interest you in a little known part of the Empire, and that now we are beginning to have closer relations with you we shall see some of you over there. I can assure you, you will receive an exceptionally hearty welcome.

[Sept. 22, 1913]

(Special Meeting held at the Windsor Hotel.)

## 1776 AND 1913

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By LORD NORTHCLIFFE

---

I HAVE chosen for my subject—1776 and 1913. I had thought it might be wise in view of the fact that all of us in this room are part of a great imperial business combination, divided into five great nations separated by great distances, that those who havenot had the opportunity of travelling throughout this vast combination should review some of its assets and prospects and some of the history of the nations that make up that very wonderful business known as the British Empire. I am not altogether a believer in size, but one must have a few figures. The population of this combination is 410 millions of people, and it has an area of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  million square miles. Now in 1776 the two branches of the English-speaking people came to the conclusion that it would be better to part. People are rather inclined to forget that the sizes of these two peoples were very much the same, also that the after history of both peoples has been very much the same. In 1776 Great Britain was one of the smallest powers in Europe. She was alongside the great nation of France, so close indeed that I can see France from one of my houses almost every day. She was alongside the greatest military power in the world, with whom she was yet to have her greatest struggle.

The American half of this English-speaking people were not quite so numerous, though the population was more closely approximating; and they had some years in which to arrange their domestic difficulties and set about establishing their magnificent republic. We, on the other hand, had to fight continually till 1815. The Americans proceeded to accomplish their



plans on this continent. They attempted to do what the English had done in other parts of the world; they set out to conquer the middle west, and simultaneously began to produce the first real Americans (as distinct from European colonists) of whom, in my opinion, Lincoln is the prototype. They carried their conquests and civilization as far as the Pacific, and they did not flinch from a blood-thirsty civil war to maintain their principles and their unity. They had very much the same struggle to settle and assimilate to their new country as we have had in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India. The history of these two peoples has been extraordinarily similar, and I take it that the similarity arises very much from the similarity of race. We are very similar in many respects. They bound their new enterprises together with their magnificent railroads. We in the English branch of this business bound ours together with the magnificent steamships with which we have covered the whole world. You who live here at the head of the great navigation, who have shipping the entire way across the Atlantic and the Pacific, have some realization of what it is. To stand by the Suez Canal, that great triumph of French engineering, and watch the procession of flags go through, as I have done over and over again, is an object lesson in the greatness of your Empire. To travel from New York to Fishguard in the Mauretania, and from Italy to India by a British ship, and find yourself in that great dependency in a little more than a fortnight, gives some idea of the efficiency and speed of your partner, John Bull, when speed is essential. You yourselves are becoming shipowners, and your St. Lawrence route and Pacific boats are altering the whole trend of ocean travel. You have acquired these great routes to get to your possessions quickly. We in islands have to resort to other means, and personally I am very proud of those means. I am very proud of the fact that that small country which is a part of this combination, which you could put many times into your provinces, can and does send out from 250,000 to 300,000 people year after year, while at the same time we are also sending capital to all parts of the world. Not only do we send a great deal to Canada, and are delighted to do so, but after all, Canada is but one of the many places to which English capital is pouring daily, and, as

you know, the amount of capital and emigrants we have sent to this country does not yet compare with what we have sent to Australasia.

As to the peopling of this country, it is only those who watch the departures from Glasgow, as I sometimes do on Saturday afternoon, and see as I have seen, two and three thousand, and on one occasion 4,500 leave, or see two steamships at Quebec in one day, or see arrive four great trains filled with new Canadians from across the line: it is only then that you can conceive what is going on in this respect. We have nothing to compare with it in the history of the world. On the whole I think that you are peopling your land well. You start here basically with the two finest races of the world, the race of old Gaul and the race of England, that have done so much to civilize the world. You start with these, and, from watching the immigrants, I know that for every one coming from South-Eastern Europe you are getting at least one from the United States, and the very best of their people, and at least two from the North of England and Scotland. For I am one of those so old-fashioned as to attach as much importance to the arrival here of a family of Scottish immigrants as I would do to the arrival of five hundred dark gentlemen of Africa. I know that such opinions are not fashionable, and that sentimentalists would teach us that these people can be developed into Scotchmen or Frenchmen or Englishmen as you choose, but I don't believe it. You know what the Scotch have done for Canada.

While the children of the Scottish, English, Irish and French have been building up Canada, that (and it is a very big THAT) is only a part of the making of the Empire of four hundred millions which has taken place since 1776. I have been looking at the figures, and I find from my end of the combination that you have had in fifty years nearly two millions of emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, and two thousand five hundred millions of capital. We do not grumble at that. On the whole we have done extremely well by the transaction. We are not sentimentalists. I have never heard that John Bull is a particularly sentimental old gentleman. He is very careful; if he loses he makes a tremendous noise about it; if he wins he says nothing. To-day we have some proof of his stability. A few months ago

the whole world was shaken by a very horrible war in South-Eastern Europe, a war that was little understood over here. You will realize its effects when I say that a highly organized nation like the German was unable to raise a national loan. Yet our position in London was unimpaired, and John Bull had the pleasure of pocketing German Canadian Pacific shares day after day at 210 upwards.

It is just as well that you should know about your partners. When I talk to Australians about Canada I find they know nothing, except that they believe you have to wear snowshoes. When I read the American papers about England, I might believe that poor old England was tottering to its grave, and that the chief business was gathering the hay-crop in front of the Stock Exchange in London. Speaking as a newspaper man who has a knowledge of true conditions, I can say I have never known the old country—or any country—in a greater state of vitality. Sometimes when you see immigrants arriving in Montreal you might imagine the people were all leaving the old land. On the other hand, as I was reminded by the Postmaster-General, Right Honorable Herbert Samuel, on my way up the St. Lawrence, the likelihood is that the great population in England will outstrip the population in Canada. We are about forty-three or forty-four millions, and Mr. Samuel asked what is there to prevent the old country holding one hundred millions. I see no difficulty because while we export a great number of emigrants and we send you splendid Scotch farmers—the best in the whole world—we never send out our highly skilled workmen, because they do not want to leave. In many businesses we cannot get people. In Lancashire these skilled people never leave the country, and only now and then when there is a slump in the building trade do bricklayers and carpenters leave. In my long journeys I have failed to find any expert workmen such as skilled weavers, spinners and shipbuilders such as we have in the north of England and in Scotland, wanting to leave; they do not leave any more than the highly skilled French leave. We have the good fortune in England to be a very prolific people, although I see much being said about the birth-rate falling. I do know, however, that we are giving more care to child culture than any people in the world, and we are paying



attention to the quality as well as to the number of children. That remark applies equally to France also, and when you are told that they are disappearing and that in a hundred years there will be no French nation, do not believe it. I do not say that because I find myself in the presence of a cousin to that great people, but because I have had to live in France a great deal, and recent events in Europe have shown that, far from that old country losing vitality, it is reassuming its old vitality. I have called attention to the preparations of the German navy, and I was strongly denounced through Canada and the United States for what I said. I called attention to the fact that the Germans were building ships and that it did not seem to be known. I now call attention to the fact that they do not stop night or day, and I also call attention to the fact that the French people have agreed on a great sacrifice and every Frenchman is giving a year of his life for the defence of his nation. That has not much to do with our business, but it is just as well we should know the position of those with whom we are in business alliances, and I am glad to say our alliance with that country is a very warm and strong one. What we cannot supply in soldiers, they can, and what they cannot supply in ships, we can.

I have no doubt that these two branches of the English-speaking people since 1776 have in their various ways been most successful. I think we may conclude, without taking any undue Anglo-Saxon claims to glory, that the history of the people below the line and the history of the British Empire constitute a very large part of the history of the whole world since 1776. I know that there are other pebbles on the beach, but I think the historian of five hundred years hence will have to give great recognition to the various acts, both good and ill, of these English-speaking nations. It is curious that the success of both these branches has been obtained by entirely different methods of government. The United States, as you know, is ruled by a cast-iron and rigid constitution. From the English point of view it is most mediaeval; it is in the reign of George III. There is never any change; ours is always changing. The bands which bind the States together are bands of steel. On the whole this system works admirably. California may kick. The East

may sometimes murmur against the West, but the times of friction are few, and small family jars do not matter.

On the other hand ours is a very different proposition. Until the invention of the cable and latterly of the wireless, ours might have seemed an impossible proposition for people widely and differently situated in far-off places such as Australia, South Africa, India and Canada. To beat all these into one business-governing combination might have seemed impossible, but it was done quite as well as nations governed like the Germans in Berlin or the Americans by hard and fast constitution at Washington. Between the two methods of government I do not think there is much to choose. We think ours is the freer: that is a matter of opinion. Ours is certainly less binding. Ours is merely what is called "a gentleman's agreement." Any nation can leave this combine of nations to which we belong at present by saying so. We stay together for many reasons, for one, because we are very useful to each other. Let us be plain about it. If you look at this combination you will see that we practically produce everything a nation can want, in one part of the Empire or another. In England, for instance, the care we are able to take in our legal precedents is most useful to the whole Empire, but perhaps the John Bull end of this business is most successful as a commercial concern. Yet there are higher ethical things than making money, and the one thing we can all be proud of is that we belong to a business in which any man can get a square deal. It is not possible in any part of the Empire for any millionaire to so arrange that he shall not get kicked out. I watched with great interest those proceedings at Sherbrooke, and was just wondering how long it would last, whether, as some of our American friends said, it would last just as long as Thaw's money lasted. Therefore it was with some pleasure that I saw in the paper that Thaw's lawyer was sent down to chew his gown.

Our unwritten system works just as well as the American, and the success of each shows that both peoples have the capacity of realizing what system suits them best. It is the extreme flexibility of the bond alone that makes it possible for peoples living so far apart, in such widely different climes, and engrossed in so many varied industries as the Australian and the Canadian,



the New Zealander and the South African, to remain in the same governing group as the British. Were we gathered together in one continent, it might be wise and necessary to copy the constitution of the Germans or the Americans, who are, if one analyzes the plan, largely controlled from Berlin and Washington. Sometimes you grumble a little at Downing Street; but I have heard that you were grumbling at Ottawa, and I have heard of Americans grumbling at Washington. Downing Street is rather slow sometimes; but sometimes it is not a bad thing to have an anchor in a ship, and not bad to have people who do not hesitate in the business circles of any constitution. On the whole I do not think Downing Street has done so badly during the last hundred years, although I have been one who at times have abused it. It is this flexibility that has enabled us to do great things. If I may say so in the presence of a distinguished French-speaking gentleman, I wonder what other form of government could contain so many people who do not speak our language. For this example on the banks of the St. Lawrence is not the only one. We have Mauritius, where they are quite happy though they do kick vigorously against Downing Street at times, and of course our friends on the St. Lawrence get very much their own way too. I have had the pleasure of motoring through the Province of Quebec and of talking with the "habitants," and I did not find them, except towards election time, living in any other than a happy and prosperous condition.

Let us take one other proof of our adaptability. One of the business propositions we have undertaken within the last twenty years is the government of Egypt. When we went there, their Government stock was the joke of the world. To-day it stands above par, and the wealth and prosperity of Egypt are increasing rapidly. The Japanese with their usual astuteness, have sent enquirers to Egypt to learn how to govern their possessions lately gained in the far East. Our friends below the line have similar problems in the Philippines, though they do not say much about them. It remains to be seen whether their cast-iron constitution can manage such difficult people as the Latin races as well as can be done with an elastic constitution like ours. In that respect I think our business system is the best possible.

Now I do ask you, in the intervals of building up this great nation, to think sometimes of the other fellows in the other part of the business. When you read in German or American papers about poor old John Bull being on his last legs, you might also read the figures (which I suppose are cabled here), of the manufactures of that little old country—good manufactures, because the British workman will not take a bad thing. Quite lately, owing to the enormous boom in cotton, some of the master spinners in Manchester tried to send out inferior articles. Who struck against it? the workmen: they would not make them, and the public was with them. They said—"If we send out bad things from England, we shall send out no more," and they did not make them. Those are men of whose families we are proud in England. Unfortunately you see rather unenviable specimens. It is a family secret that if one member of the family is not so temperate as he ought to be, he is sent away. I have seen him shipped off and you have seen him arrive. But you do not hear of the industrial families of Lancashire who earn from \$75 to \$100 in the mills, or of people who make superb clothes, or the men in the vast shipbuilding firms that build the greater part of the world's shipping. You hear little of the fact that John Bull controls the banking of the world, and that the gold standard of his own is an example to be followed all over the world. You are not often told he controls the diamonds of the world, and that he is the great law-maker of the world—because our laws are copied all over the world. What you do hear is rather naturally from jealous trade competitors, who assert that the old country is not what it was. It never has been: you know that, and unfortunately owing to the habits of the foreign British in sending these specimens here, there are occasionally individuals who arrive here who lend color to the statements of our German friends. But I do assure you that there are others in England; and if you look at the manufactures, at trade returns, if you think the matter over quietly, than you will realize that it would be quite impossible for a country that was not in the highest state of prosperity to be sending out capital and men to all parts of the world, to have invested twice as much in South America as we have here, also to have vast interests in the United States of Brazil which are larger than the United States of Uncle

Sam, and at the same time to be financing India, China very largely, Japan some, and many other parts. I say it would be quite impossible for a country in a derelict condition to be doing all that. I do not say one word in criticism about our jealous opponents, because it is a small matter, and on the whole I think the people on both sides of the line have reason to be proud of the progress made since they set out on their separate paths in 1776. I am sure, too, that if the Americans have great reason to be proud, then those five nations of which you are one, and I belong to another, have equal reason to be proud of all that we have accomplished in the way of good government, good laws, financial progress, prosperity and happiness of the people that is reflected all over the world.

[October 10th, 1913.]

## IMPERIAL PROGRESS AND PEACE

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By THE RT. HON. HERBERT SAMUEL, M. P.,  
Postmaster-General of the United Kingdom.

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**A**FTER my long journey through the west I find myself in Montreal, and feel almost that I am close to home. Indeed, Montreal is as near to London as to Vancouver, and in some ways nearer, for communication is for many purposes even more easy by sea than by land.

The department over which I have the honor to preside, is, as has been truly said by your president, one of the main links that bind together the various portions of the Empire. I have come to Canada not to make speeches, but to see and learn Canadian conditions, and also to confer with my Canadian colleague, your Postmaster General, in order to devise what means are in our power to draw closer together these links and bonds.

A year ago he and I co-operated in negotiations with the great cable companies. That resulted in very considerable reductions in the cable rates across the Atlantic; and especially we were successful in securing the lowering of the press rate from one side of the Atlantic to the other, from 5d. to 2½d. per word, which is now the ordinary rate for press messages. The conferences we have held during the last few days will I trust result in the not distant future in still further improvements of the postal and telegraphic service.

When I last had the pleasure of meeting Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, whom I am pleased to see near me to-day, he was speaking at a Canadian Club dinner in London a year ago on the need of improving the laws relating to naturalization in the dominions and the mother country with a view to securing greater uniform-



ity. Surely it is an improper thing that a man may be naturalized and regarded as a British citizen in one portion of the Empire only to find when he travels to another and settles there that he is regarded as an alien without the rights of citizenship. At successive Imperial conferences the desire was expressed that there should be some greater measure of uniformity throughout the Empire, that a man who is a British citizen anywhere in the Empire should be a British citizen everywhere in the Empire. There are difficulties to overcome. There have been long negotiations between the various Governments concerned, and some slight modifications have had to be made in the full application of the principle, but I am happy to be in a position to announce to-day, after communicating with the Imperial Government, that these negotiations are now ended, that a Bill has been drafted in a form agreed upon between the Governments of the various portions of the Empire, for the establishment of a greater uniformity of naturalization, and that the Imperial Government hope to be able to introduce the Bill in the next session of the Imperial Parliament, and to have an early opportunity of placing it upon the statute-book of the Empire.

The Imperial Government is indeed anxious to take every opportunity—not indeed of interfering, for the day of Downing Street interference is long ago past—but of co-operating with the Dominion Governments in carrying out any measure that may conduce to the greater unity of the Empire. But perhaps it is true to say that the greatest service which the Government of the mother country can render to the Empire as a whole is to carry out a practical and effective policy of progress at home and of peace in our international relations abroad. We could not be serving Canada and the Dominions in any better way than by making our own country worthy to be the centre of the great Empire, of which it is the metropolis, and of seeing that the heart of the Empire is healthy and sound. I believe there are none of the signs of decrepitude which here and there some pessimists have thought they saw. The day is happily far distant when the vigor of the old mother country will be abated, and her natural forces begin to decline.

Your population is increasing rapidly. Our population is increasing even more rapidly—not indeed by percentages,

but in actual numbers. In the last 20 years our population has increased by 8,000,000—about equal to your whole present population. True, by percentages you are increasing more rapidly than we, but percentages sometimes mislead. I would give an illustration. When I was thirty years of age, I had a son three years old. After a year had gone by, I was 31, and he was 4. My age had increased by 3 per cent. and his had increased by 33 per cent. I have no doubt that there are statisticians who would prove to you that in a short time the boy would be older than his father. Beware of the fallacy of percentages.

If our population shows a healthy rate of increase, so does our trade. Ten years ago a great agitation was set on foot for a change in our fiscal system, on the ground that our trade was stagnant, that our industries were declining, and that there was no prospect of increase in our exports, unless we changed our fiscal policy. At that time the exports of British products, articles produced in the home country amounted to £283,000,000 in the year 1902. Last year those exports amounted to £487,000,000, a marvellous increase of over £200,000,000, a thousand million dollars, or 72 per cent. in ten years.

We have, of course, in the motherland, and we profoundly regret it is the case, a great mass of misery, poverty, and undeserved misfortune; and it is at these bad social conditions that all our energies as a nation are being directed, in order to find a cure.

We are making our educational system second to none in the world. We have established a great scheme of old age pensions, which give much-needed relief to a million old people over 70 years of age; we have established systems of insurance against sickness and unemployment, the one covering the whole of the working classes, the other covering the trades most liable to fluctuation. We have compensation for accidents arising out of employment, and we have our great code for the protection of workers in factories, workshops and mines. As I say, our whole efforts as a people are devoted to relieving poverty and misery, in combating ignorance and vice, in order to make our nation worthy to be the centre and leader of the

## *Imperial Progress and Peace*

peoples that comprise our Empire. In that we are engaged in a truly imperial policy: "Progress at home; peace abroad."

I can assure you that the declared and unchangeable policy of the Imperial Government is to endeavor to live in peace and amity with all the nations of the world. We have too many responsibilities to prevent any sane man desiring further to extend the Empire by a policy of aggression. I hope there are none here—I know there are only a few in England, who still believe in the doctrine that war may be good for its own sake. I know there are some who think it is so because it develops qualities of bravery and heroism. War can never be good for its own sake. Lord John Russell when a young man, went to visit Elba, and was there when Napoleon was confined on the island, and had a conversation with him, which has recently been published. In the course of it, Napoleon said: "War is a grand game; a fine occupation." No utterance more profoundly immoral has ever fallen from the lips of a great man. It is true that war evokes noble qualities. But we do not wreck our ships in order that the lifeboat men may show their courage; we do not burn our houses in order that the firemen may display their bravery. No, there is no intellectual justification for war. It is said by a writer on the customs of the North American Indians, that a Sioux would share his last mouthful with a starving Sioux, and take the scalp of a starving Apache. Those who hold that war may be right and justifiable for its own sake preach doctrines as barbarous and immoral as those of the savage, but though we may work for the reign of permanent peace, we cannot act as though it had arrived, and was secure. It was a true saying of George Meredith, that "Britain cannot invest her all in the millennium, and be ruined if it delays to come." It is true that the wealth, intelligence and prosperity of a people are more important than fleets or armies, yet we cannot treat fleets or armies as though they were of no account. It is true that the works of a watch are more important than the case of a watch, but that is no reason for leaving the watch uncased. Sincerely working for peace as we are, we would be doing less than our duty if we did not guard against possible risks and maintain, at whatever point need be, the defences of the Empire as a whole.



## *Imperial Progress and Peace*

When the present administration came into office in England, we found the cost of naval armaments had reached the colossal figure of £33,000,000 a year. We were pledged to a policy of economy, so far as it was practicable, and in the first year of our tenure of office, 1906, we reduced the naval estimates to £31,000,000, hoping we should find a response in the reduction of the naval armaments of other Powers. The following year, 1907, we kept them still at that sum, hoping that it would be possible to arrive at some commonsense understanding that would put a stop to the growth of naval armaments. In 1908, finding these hopes so far disappointed, there was a small increase to £32,000,000. But we succeeded in keeping the expenditure for the first three years of our tenure of office lower than it had been before Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman came into power. But so far from responding to these efforts we found the naval expenditure of the great Empire of Germany was being increased with extreme rapidity, and it was found essential for the security of our coasts, our commerce, and our Empire to change the policy previously adopted. In 1909, naval estimates went up to £35,000,000; in 1910, £40,000,000; 1911, to £42,000,000; 1912, to £44,000,000; this year to £46,000,000. There was thus an increase of £15,000,000 forced upon us; our naval estimates are 50 per cent. higher than they were six years ago. Then it amounted to 14s. a head; now it is £1, or five dollars a head.

I have ventured to-day to state these facts. I draw no conclusions; I say nothing as to Canadian policy—that is for you to decide. Canada with her population of 8,000,000 now has a naval expenditure of \$2,000,000; or one quarter of a dollar per head.

I do not propose to say a word as to how or when or to what extent Canada should assist in naval defence of the Empire, for that is a matter which I am well aware is a subject of acute party controversy, and nothing would induce me as a member of the Home Government to say one word which would be construed as expressing either approval or disapproval of the policy of either of the Canadian parties. But I am happy to think from the declarations of the leaders of both parties that



it is recognized that by some means, at some time, to some extent, Canada should take a larger part in order that you may fulfil more fully than hitherto the boast that finds expression in your fine national song: "O, Canada, we stand on guard for thee."

These are the last words I shall have the opportunity of speaking in public on Canadian soil. I must take this occasion to express my heartfelt thanks to the Government and to everyone I have met in Canada for the unbounded kindness and hospitality shown me as a representative of the Imperial Government. I shall carry away unforgettable memories of my visit to Canada, and I can assure you I shall do my utmost to persuade my colleagues to visit this great Dominion and the other Dominions in order to learn for themselves their problems and their aspirations.

If I may venture to utter these last words as an expression of my hopes for Canada it will be to urge you to cherish always, and in an equal degree, both your Canadian patriotism and your Imperial loyalty. The one need never be inconsistent with the other. Both will work together for the well-being of the world.

[October 22, 1913]

## THE CENTENNIAL OF CHATEAUGUAY, WITH THE CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1812.

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By HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX, K.C., M.P.

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I AM sorry, indeed, that the commemoration of the Field of Chateaugay, which was to have taken place on the 26th of October next, has been postponed. I blame no one, but as our fellow-Canadians from Ontario commemorated in August the battle of Chrysler's Farm, it seems to me that we, in the Province of Quebec should have been as ready as they, to honor the memory of the heroes who saved Canada on the 26th of October, 1813.

The men who fought under de Salaberry did not postpone the accomplishment of their duty in order to save Montreal. A great French historian says, "Hasten to teach the people of the glorious deeds of the past, lest they forget." The War of 1812 constituted one of the most glorious pages in Canadian history; and out of this war emerged heroes both in Upper and Lower Canada. I will only speak of the invasion of Lower Canada; but it is well that the names of Sir Isaac Brock, Laura Secord, and Tecumseh, the heroes of Upper Canada, should never go from our memories.

The two main causes of the War of 1812 were the right of search and the impressment of seamen enforced by Great Britain. Opinion in the United States at that stormy time was divided as to the advisability of this war. Meetings in Boston and New York protested against its uselessness, but Jefferson and his friends were anti-British to the core. They looked with longing eyes towards Canada and believed that by supporting Napoleon they would be aided in securing Louisiana and the Floridas.

Napoleon was then the great disturber of the peace of Europe. England, after the war of 1811, was in a very depressed condition owing to a variety of causes. King George III was insane and blind, and his son, the future George IV, had been appointed regent. The government under Perceval's administration was weak, while Castlereagh had proved a failure in the foreign office. All these domestic difficulties came at a time when Great Britain stood alone amid war-stricken Europe; a time when Napoleon was at the zenith of his power, and, having mastered Europe, was turning his ambitions towards the overthrow of Great Britain. The hand of every power was against her. At Tilsit, Russia had become Napoleon's ally. Germany lay prostrate in his grasp. Switzerland was subdued and Italy conquered. The Papal states were incorporated with France. Austria had accepted Napoleon's power as *un fait accompli*; in fact, the Austrian princess, Marie Louise, had been sent to France to become his bride. Spain, already decadent, had ceased to excite animosity.

All this had a great influence upon the policy of the United States government. Madison and Jefferson believed that Great Britain's power was waning, and the events of 1812 seemed to confirm them in that illusion. The American government came to the conclusion that Napoleon's Russian expedition must succeed and that he would dictate terms of peace from Moscow; that, having thus practically subdued Europe, Great Britain in her isolation would then feel the full extent of his anger and his power.

From all this the American leaders conceived the idea that Canada, with its diverse population, including the not long conquered French-Canadians, would fall an easy prey. They considered that by playing into Napoleon's hand they would be aided to round out the North American continent by securing Louisiana (which they subsequently purchased from Napoleon), by securing the Floridas from helpless Spain, and that now, while Britain was facing such tremendous odds throughout Europe, was the time to strike and wrest the northern half of this continent from her power.

Everything in Europe seemed to point to the success of Jefferson's plans. After his crushing successes at Jena and

Austerlitz, Napoleon had leisure to turn his attention to the hated England, and undertook to crush the "nation of shop-keepers" through her commerce, and proceeded to practically compel all the other European nations to act as his allies in this.

On December 5th, 1806, he promulgated the famous Berlin Decrees, which, briefly, read as follows:—

- I. The British Isles were to be in a state of blockade.
- II. Intercourse with them by neutrals was prohibited.
- III. Every British subject within the limits of French authority was to be held as prisoner of war.
- IV. All British property, private and public, was declared prize of war.
- V. Merchandise from England also declared prize of war.
- VI. Half of the product of confiscation was to be applied to indemnify merchants for their property captured by British cruisers.
- VII. No British ships to be admitted into any port of France or her allies.
- VIII. Every vessel eluding this rule was to be confiscated.

Napoleon's drastic decrees were promptly answered by the famous Orders in Council by which Canning had attempted to prevent the transfer of the world's ocean carrying trade from English to neutral bottoms, by compelling all vessels proceeding to ports under blockade to touch at British harbors. This tended to shut United States ships out of the European trade and at once created serious embarrassments with the American government. Not only had the British government enforced its right of search, but it asserted the right of seizing English seamen found in American vessels, and, as there was no means of differentiating between English and American seamen, the sailors from Maine and Massachusetts were frequently violently impressed to serve in the British fleets.

The execution of an American seaman at Halifax created a great furore in the United States. Jefferson resorted to embargo, excluding British ships from American ports. Later Jefferson made an offer that if either power, England or France, would



repeal its edicts, the Americans would suspend commerce with them. Napoleon, in order to checkmate England, accepted at once and declared all intercourse with England and her dependencies at an end. Events then precipitated themselves. Madison appealed to the nation for sinews of war. England repealed her Orders in Council, but too late, and on the 18th of June, 1812, war was declared by Congress. What was then the situation of Canada? A young country with magnificent distances; a scattered population of three hundred thousand poorly equipped for defence; with five thousand regular troops in round numbers defending a frontier of eighteen hundred miles. But the true British spirit lingered in the hearts of the sturdy Canadian yeomen. The population of the United States numbered eight millions, and at least forty-five thousand men invaded the Canadian frontier under different American generals.

In July, General Hull with an army of fifteen hundred men crossed into Canada from Detroit and established headquarters at Sandwich. From this place he issued a grandiloquent proclamation in which he offered the Canadian people, in exchange for the tyranny under which they were supposed to groan, "the invaluable blessings of civil, political and religious liberty," concluding with the hope that they might be guided to a result the most compatible with their "rights and interests, peace and prosperity."

General Sir Isaac Brock was in command of the British troops on the border, and his reply to this bombastic proclamation was the following appeal to the people of Canada, dated at Fort George, July 22nd, 1812.

"Are you prepared, inhabitants of Canada, to become willing subjects, or rather slaves, to the despot who rules the nations of continental Europe with a rod of iron? If not, arise in a body, exert your energies, co-operate cordially with the King's regular forces to repel the invader, and do not give cause to your children, when groaning under the oppression of a foreign master, to reproach you with having so easily parted with the richest inheritance of this earth—a participation in the name, character, and freedom of Britons."

The response of the Canadian people was prompt and effective. Brock's second reply to the American invader was the capture of Michigan, with the aid of two French-Canadian officers, Toussaint Pothier and Rolette.

Having sketched the general conditions which led to the War of 1812, I must now confine myself more particularly to the American invasion of Lower Canada, which led to one of the greatest surprises which they had yet received. Jefferson and many others in the United States thought that the French-Canadians would receive the invaders joyfully and with open arms. Never were men more mistaken.

When the Americans had learned the folly of attempting invasion by way of Niagara, they concentrated their plans upon the capture of Montreal, which at that time had a population of but 15,000 souls, and possessed no fortification. But if Montreal had no fortifications, it had grievances. In 1807 Sir James Craig had been appointed governor, and arrived at Quebec on October 21st of that year. His four years of office proved most eventful, so much so that with him originated the disquietude and discord, which thirty years later culminated in rebellion.

Craig was a fine soldier, but a martinet of the old type. He had served with honor at Bunker Hill, Ticonderoga, the Cape of Good Hope in 1795, Madras and the Mediterranean, and bore the scars of several wounds received in active service. When he landed at Quebec he was in poor health, and his stern military ideas of government speedily stirred up discontent, the more so as he had no political experience to guide him through such turbulent times. With him there was no idea of the extension of civil rights, no thought of concession to the popular branch of legislature. With him, power meant the prerogative of the Crown, and himself as its representative, with the common people entitled to no other privileges than that of being governed. Governor Craig's entourage was also unfortunate, and encouraged him in his dictatorial attitude.

The British government had enacted the Quebec Act in 1774, which was followed by the granting of the Constitution in 1791. Already the Canadians were agitating for greater

parliamentary control—but they were struggling to secure increased responsible government, not fighting against the Crown.

Craig was not in sympathy with this movement at all. When he arrived he found the whole country disturbed, the United States already assuming a threatening attitude, in fact many American statesmen were already boasting that ere long they would capture Canada. It must be borne in mind that at that time there was not much intercourse between the English and French in Canada, and this complication of causes led to misunderstandings all round, misunderstandings which were fanned into serious irritation during Craig's tactless governorship.

In 1811, Sir George Prevost was appointed to succeed Craig, arriving on September 14, 1811. He was cordially greeted, and immediately after he assumed office the Legislature voted the necessary sums to provide for the defence of the country and the levying of troops; for the war, which now seemed to be inevitable, had begun.

All dissensions ceased in face of the emergency, and throughout Quebec there were no more loyal workers in the British cause than the Roman Catholic clergy, who, headed by Mgr. Plessis, gave their energy and influence towards the raising of troops to defend their country from the invader.

By May 28, 1812, four military battalions had been raised including the *Volunteers*, who were recruited by Lt.-Col. de Salaberry, who became their commanding officer, and which regiment included many members of the historical families of Lower Canada. The Iroquois, Algonquin and other Indian tribes, also rallied to the British standard under De Lorimier, Demontigny, Lamothe and Ducharme. A corps of Chasseurs was organized at Beauharnois and Chateauguay, and a corps of Voyageurs and Fencibles. In this way a cordon of militia was organized from Yamaska to St. Regis, which chiefly consisted of French-Canadian infantry.

It is interesting here to consider De Salaberry and who he was. He was descended from a famous family of soldiers who had served the kings of France and England in both the old and new worlds. The wife of my friend, Mr. Justice Archer, is



the descendant of the hero of Chateauguay. She has the intelligence, the beauty and the grace of our old French Canadian *noblesse*. The first Canadian De Salaberry settled in New France in 1735 and served under Montcalm at the Plains of Abraham. His son was born in 1752, and later served in Burgoyne's army. After the campaign of 1783 he took up his residence at Beauport, near Quebec, where he became the friend of the Duke of Kent. Three of his sons served with British armies in Spain and India between 1809 and 1812, and all three died, loyally fighting for their king.

The eldest, the hero of Chateauguay, Charles Michel d'Irumberry de Salaberry, was born at Beauport on the 19th of November, 1778. Like the rest of his family he chose a military career, and in 1792, when only fourteen years old he volunteered in the 44th Regiment. Two years later he was appointed by the Duke of Kent as ensign in the 16th Regiment—the Duke of Kent's own battalion. During a number of years he led an adventurous career, saw active service at Dominique, at Guadeloupe under General Prescott, and was at the siege of Gibraltar in 1794, in which war he was appointed lieutenant. Returning to Canada he served with the 4th Regiment at Halifax, saw active service in Sicily in 1806, in Ireland in 1807 and was at Walcheren in 1809.

De Salaberry was appointed A.D.C. to General Rothenberg about 1811, and returned to Quebec where he learned of the death of his three soldier brothers. Immediately on war being declared by the United States he again offered his services to the Crown. The offer was gladly accepted and the already distinguished French-Canadian soldier proceeded to raise his battalion of Voltigeurs.

The supreme crisis of the war occurred during the fall of 1813, when all Upper Canada except Kingston was occupied by a division of the army of invasion which was working eastward towards Montreal. Meanwhile another division was forcing its way into Canada by way of Chateauguay, the plan of campaign being for the two armies to effect a junction at Ile Perrot, a few miles above Montreal. The army under General Wilkinson in Upper Canada numbered about 9,000, while General Wade



Hampton with 5,000 men essayed the invasion by way of Chateauguay, anticipating no trouble from the French-Canadians.

Immediately on hearing of General Hampton's invasion, Governor Sir George Prevost hastened to Montreal and called the militia to arms. Lt.-Col. De Salaberry was ordered south with a small force to do everything possible to impede Hampton's march, while De Watteville was sent with a detachment of troops to Chateauguay, there to act as circumstances should dictate. Lt.-Col. MacDonnell of the Glengarrys arrived on October 25th with seven companies of Fencibles. It is noteworthy that there was no artillery of any kind on the British side in this Lower Canada campaign.

De Salaberry with his small force made his way south until he got in touch with the invading army, when he immediately took advantage of the country to carry on a guerilla warfare, hanging on the flank of the American army, and continued harassing it as it slowly made its way through the wilderness.

Emboldened by his successes the intrepid Canadian commander decided upon more vigorous methods. Although many times outnumbered, he entrenched his men directly in the path of the invaders, sheltering his men behind strong breastworks. A brisk engagement followed in which De Salaberry not only held his own but did even better. He placed buglers and a few Indians at strategical points on the flanks of the American army with instructions to blow calls and make as much noise as possible. The ruse proved completely successful. General Hampton jumped to the conclusion that strong reinforcements had arrived, gave up the attack and within a short time the invading force was in full retreat.

Thus was Hampton prevented from making a junction with Wilkinson's army, which would have enabled the American invaders to greatly outnumber the defenders. On learning of De Salaberry's victory over Hampton at Chateauguay, General Wilkinson started to withdraw his army and a few days later was decisively beaten at Chrysler's Farm. It is thus apparent that De Salaberry saved the country to the British flag.

Subsequently, the credit for this repulse of the Americans at Chateauguay was claimed by Major-General de Watteville and others, but there is ample evidence that nothing but the

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daring and military skill of De Salaberry, with the bravery of his loyal forces at Chateauguay, had saved Montreal.

That this is the case is proved by the following letter from Col. MacDonnell, commander of the Fencibles:—

Col. MacDonnell to Sir Henry Torrens.

Jan. 14, 1817.

Sir,—

At the request of Lt.-Col. de Salaberry of the Canadian Voltigeurs, still in Canada, I do myself the honor of stating to you for the information of H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief, that having been second in command at Chateauguay, in Lower Canada, I can pledge my honor, that the merit of occupying that position and fighting that action is exclusively due to Lt.-Col. de Salaberry, who acted in both respects entirely from his own judgment, Major-General de Watteville having only come up from his station, some miles in the rear, at the close of the affair, after the enemy had been defeated, in consequence of a notification sent him by myself, that we even then were warmly engaged with the enemy. Lt.-Col. de Salaberry, having in this affair the good fortune to defeat a division of 7,000 regular troops, the largest regular army that the American nation has ever yet brought to action, I hope that H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief will do him the honor to take the subject into his gracious consideration.

I have the honor to be, etc.

G. M. MACDONNELL,

De Salaberry's heroism was recognized by the British government and he was granted the Order of Commander of the Bath.

The importance of De Salaberry's victory at Chateauguay cannot be overestimated. It not only saved Lower Canada, but it saved Canada itself to the British Empire, because had Montreal fallen, as it undoubtedly would had the two American forces carried out their plan of uniting at Ile Perrot, Upper Canada could never have been retained.

Let us now return to conditions in Europe. By 1814, England was at last left free, to begin a retaliatory naval war

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against the United States. The effect of this was soon felt, and it was apparent that the hopes of Jefferson were futile. Napoleon had been defeated at Leipsic, a blow which was shortly followed by his abdication at Fontainebleau and his first exile to the Island of Elba. The fall of Napoleon at once freed the English fleet for action against the United States, and within a brief space the whole American seaboard from Maine to Mexico suffered from the inroads of British squadrons. General Sherbrooke made a series of successful attacks until the Maine border from Penobscot to New Brunswick was in the hands of the British. To the south General Ross marched upon Washington, dispersed the garrison and burned the American capital. This hastened the end, and by December 1814 the Treaty of Ghent put an end to this most unjustifiable war, so disastrous in its immediate effects and so fruitless of results.

But no! It was fruitful of great results. With unfaltering steps the Canadian yeomen willingly threw themselves into the breach and fought gallantly for home, country and king. French-Canadians and English-Canadians fought side by side, vying with each other in devotion to their common country. The history of 1776 was repeated, and Canadians of all races and creeds showed in 1812-13 the same heroic devotion to their king and their flag.

This centennial of that glorious event is an inspiration to present and future generations, with a lesson for all time that our free British institutions now as then are worth living for and worth dying for. We may differ as to the method by which we can best serve the Empire, but we all agree in the essentials, namely, defence of our country and the integrity of the Empire.

Let there be no "trust" of imperialism, no monopoly of patriotism. Some people are apt to believe that they are the only trustees of the British Empire in Canada. That is not the case, and it would be disastrous to us all if it were. Nothing could give a poorer impression of our loyalty as a nation if it were known abroad than that only a select few in Canada could be trusted as true Britishers. We are all proud of our British citizenship, and we are proud also to be Canadians.

What has been the teaching of the hundred years of peace? Days of conflict have passed. Canadians and Americans are



common heirs of British traditions and the common repository of the splendid achievements of the race as well as common workers for the social betterment and the moral progress of the world.

But whilst we recognize this common origin and these common ideals, no one dreams of a political union. Enjoying autonomy we are satisfied with our lot in the British Empire. Our Imperial connection does not prevent the free growth of national spirit in Canada.

The fiscal attitude of Washington has ceased to be the nightmare for Canada. Indeed Washington has contributed materially to the spirit of industrial confidence which pervades Canada and to that national pride which animates her people. For many years the American tariffs bore heavily on Canada. T'was a hard lesson, but the teaching of our adversity will be the faith of our prosperity.

With these improved conditions of to-day there is no more emigration from Canada to the United States. For many long and lean years our young men, lured by American glamor, left us for the great cities, the busy factories, the long trails of the prairies, the Pacific slope. The drain was heavy, but now the tide has turned and many thousands of settlers are coming every year from the United States to Canada. At last we are a light upon a hill-top which the nations of the world see from afar. The movement of population is towards Canada. Our young men have learnt that distant fields are no greener than the smiling fields at home.

We are engaged in the all-absorbing process of building up Canada, rearing new cities on the western plains, sending railway over hills and through frowning passes—across great stretches of virgin land. A growing commerce is passing out of our sea-ports. The mighty St. Lawrence is fast becoming the chief traffic way of the continent. Our manufacturers—our farmers, are getting a firmer hold upon foreign markets. We are a united, a confident people with a robust national sentiment. We hold more firmly than ever before our great place on this new continent and for all future years Canada will be a name of power among the nations.



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What, then, will be our relations with the United States? We are about to celebrate the centenary of peace. Let us have for all time the blessings of an enduring peace. Let us labor together for the high and beneficent ends of our common civilization. There should never arise a question between us that will be worth a shot in anger. We shall never ask more than we have a right to demand under the fair reading of international law and the fair interpretation of solemn treaties. The feeling of Canadians towards Americans is one of friendship upon a basis of political equality and without touch or taint of servility. We are as proud of our free institutions as they are—as zealous for the integrity of our Dominion.

In conclusion, England is mistress of the ocean; her ships plough every sea on the globe. Her flag floats in every harbor of the world. Her empire embraces a territory comprising 10,000,000 of square miles, or about one-fifth of the whole globe. Great was the Roman Empire in the days of her imperial splendor. It extended into Europe as far as the river Danube; into Asia as far as the Tigris and Euphrates; and into Africa as far as Mauretania. And yet the Roman Empire was scarcely one-sixth the extent of the British Empire of to-day. It was Daniel Webster, who, in a speech delivered in the American Senate about sixty-three years ago, thus described the extent of the British possessions: "She has dotted the whole surface of the globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, encircles the earth with one unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

The United States rules nearly one hundred millions of happy and contented people, and the friendly existence of these two great powers is beyond doubt the most potent factor for the preserving of the peace of the world. If then, England and America were to enter into an alliance of permanent arbitration with each other such a bond of friendship and amity would be a blessing, not only to these two great powers but to all nations of the civilized world. The British Empire and the American Republic are natural allies, with Canada as the connecting link, unfaltering in her loyalty to the Empire, and as unfaltering in her friendly regard towards her great neighbor.

[Monday, Nov. 3, 1913.]

## THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

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By STEPHEN LEACOCK

Professor of Political Economy, McGill University

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I AM to talk about the rise in the cost of living. We have before us an example of it. Here is the cost of speaking gone up to seventy-five cents per half hour. I can remember the time when all the best politicians in Canada could be heard for about fifteen cents for two and a half hours. But we must assume that one of the salient arguments in the discussion before us is the rise in the excellence and quality of the goods presented, and it may be possible that your migration here will merely stand for an elevation from one plane of public speaking to another. But it is not for me to introduce that change. I come here as an economist, to talk about the driest of dry subjects. I find that there are only two kinds of subjects I ever care to talk about: the very dry and the very wet. At lunch—a dry one. Later, in such a genial atmosphere as this, a wet one.

However, there is no need, in introducing my subject, for excuse or apology. We have come to the time when the ordinary man on the street has got to consider economic facts. I need not, I think, do more than call your attention to a very few facts and figures in order to show how world-wide and how important is this phenomenon of the rise of prices. You are probably aware that within the last five or six years every one of the governments of the great industrial countries of the world has set to work collecting figures. The Federal Bureau of Labor in the United States issues a bulletin every three months, which gives very ample information, and our own Government has, ever since 1909, followed the practice of collecting facts in very great detail and with very great accuracy about the whole-

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sale prices of Canadian commodities. The English Board of Trade also issues information; so that we are now able to come to the subject with at any rate this much of certainty, that we *do* know the statistics concerned.

There is no doubt that the rise in prices is a general and world-wide condition. Some people have thought that we have to deal with a moral, psychological situation. It was widely thought that it was attributable to a looser way of living. It was thought to be a kind of concomitant, not altogether objectionable, of the extravagance of the last few years. We know better than that now, and we can at once dismiss the extravagance theory of the high cost of living. One of the millionaires of the United States conceived the high cost of living as nothing more nor less than the cost of high living. This is all right as a millionaire's joke. As an explanation to the poor man, and in some cases to the half-starving man, it is irony. If you or I were to desire a large share of the champagne output of the world, or the cigar output, that kind of extravagance might raise the prices of those particular things. But the contention that the extravagance of everybody can raise the prices paid by everybody is one of the kinds of economic fallacy long ago exploded.

But what are the chief arguments that come before us? We are frequently told that the high prices are a reflection of certain flaws in our national policy. The tariff is blamed. High prices are said to be due to the organization of capital into trusts, mergers, etc. These and many other arguments are freely put before us. I do not think that any one of them goes to the root of the matter. It is my opinion, and that of much wiser economists than myself, that the fundamental trouble lies with our monetary system. The difficulty is that the gold standard, as such, is no longer proving a reliable or steady medium of exchange. Before taking this up as a theory, let us take a few facts as to prices, in order that there may be no doubt as to the steady rise.

In the United States between 1800 and 1899, the average price for the ordinary food supplies, averaged for the forty largest cities in the U. S., and representing fifteen kinds of food in most common use being taken as a base, we find an increase of 68% during the new century. The kind of food taken was the



commonest articles—milk, flour, beef and other ordinary common meats. With such a selection the articles selected represented at least 65% of the food expenditure of the average family. When you remember that in the United States and Canada the food expenditure of a family whose total income is under \$700.00 represents about 41% of the whole outlay, and when I say that the food expenditure goes as high as 60% in England, 65% in Germany—even 70%, you will realize what enormous importance an increase of 68% in the chief articles of diet must be to such a man. We find the same thing in Canada. Our Government takes the prices of 202 articles—the wholesale prices. In order to make the investigation rather more accurate and certain retail prices would have been preferable. The consumer is called upon to deal with the retailer, and the retail price often fluctuates very widely away from the wholesale one. But if we take the wholesale prices in Canada as our standard, taking the years 1800-99 as a basis, and if we make up an average price, which we can call the price of the nineteenth century, we find the following results:

With each year of the century we are living in, prices have advanced about 3%. The tabulated returns of last August show that we pay \$1.36 for goods that at the close of the nineteenth century cost \$1.00. While that is the general index to our information it applies to prices as a whole. In food prices the advance is twice as rapid. The cost of food in Canada, on an average, is now 50% more than it was then. Fish is 50% higher; animals and meats vary from about 60% to about 85% more.

Now let us turn from the United States and Canada to England. Here we have an open market. England has free trade. These two countries (Canada and the United States) have protection. England has long-standing custom and sentiment to combat price changes. But what do we find? This same phenomena makes itself felt. Even in London, where the poorer class of the people are in such poverty that a greater expenditure for food would seem to be an economic impossibility, we find an increase of 10% in prices in the last ten years. Some quite common articles of consumption increased in price in London 20%. In France the increase averages 13%; in Germany



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three times as much—the German figures showing an increase of 39%.

So you see that the phenomena cannot be explained in terms of the Canadian tariff or in terms of any particular legislative measure of a particular country, or in terms of extravagance. The cause lies deeper still. It means that the gold standard itself has undergone an alteration. Will you allow me to take a plunge into the very depths of political economy, and talk about the gold standard as such? These are the times, sirs, when the economist comes into his own. He occupies about the same position that the medical man does in a street accident. The economist must be called in—if you can't get a good one you are forced to take a bad one.

Now, in regard to the gold standard—the value of everything, the number of things that it will exchange for, is found to be relative to the cost of producing it. Anything that we make exchanges for any other thing that we buy with it—in the long run, relatively to the amount of labor and capital, the amount of efficiency and difficulty which go towards the making of it. The axe is worth about the same as the hammer. For the time being, in any market, it may be that the axe is sold far above the price of the hammer—at an inflated value—but sooner or later by reason of the increased supply, it will be brought down towards the cost of production. We may use, as an example, the familiar illusion of the level of the sea. The sea has never been absolutely level and yet, at every moment of its existence the waves are trying to subside towards the imaginary line of the level of the sea.

Anybody in business can produce countless examples of goods sold far above or far below the cost of making them. But this in no wise changes the relation of the value to the cost of production.

Gold is just a piece of commodity like anything else. The stamp on it has nothing to do with its value. Take 23.22 grains of pure gold, mix it with a little alloy, and then stamp it "this is \$1.00" and you have not added anything to the circulating value of the lump of gold with which you began. This is done merely to save trouble. There is no magic in the words "sovereign"

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and "dollar." I think of these only as nothing more than a lump of stuff, good for what it will fetch, circulating exactly as a bushel of wheat circulates. You do not in any way increase the exchange power of a bushel of wheat by putting it in a sack and marking it "this is one bushel." You only increase the convenience of handling it. Gold will be found to depend upon the same basis of value as anything else, the cost of producing it. The reason why 23.22 grains will exchange for 60 pounds of wheat—called a bushel—is that the relative difficulty and trouble of producing the one and growing the other amount to about the same thing.

But there are certain peculiarities about the value of gold. For instance, the stock of it is enormous and indestructible. All that is produced is added to the accumulated stock, whereas food products are circulated and the stock consumed. But this difference has nothing to do at all with the fundamental principle of value. Gold, as it is produced in great plenty and with ease, must fall in value. There may be things acting on the other side of the equation. In proportion as there is more demand for gold, more business, the value could be sustained. Just as in the case of wheat. We have a certain number of people who want to get it—a certain number who want to dispose of it. The price represented by the relation of these two draws towards the cost of production. So in the case of gold. In the last twenty or thirty years there has been an enormous increase in the production of gold—in the world's stock of gold. Let me give you one or two concise statistics. We always think of the period of the discovery of the New World as a time when Europe was flooded by the gold of Mexico and Peru. As a matter of fact, this was absolutely insignificant in comparison with any single one of our great gold supplies of to-day. The first twenty-five years after the discovery of America gold was brought home at the rate of about \$4,000,000 per year. Then for two hundred years, year by year, only about \$8,000,000 worth of gold was brought. Now, when you come down to the beginning of the nineteenth century you find that that figure was increased to about \$30,000,000. After the discovery of the Russian gold and then the Australian and Californian discoveries, the amount very rapidly increased. It reached as high

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as \$140,000,000 per annum between the years 1850 and 1860. But when, after the year 1887, gold was brought from the South African Witwatersrand Reef, the figures went up and are still going up by leaps and bounds. The production of the world, year by year, from 1860 to 1890 in gold, was anywhere from \$110,000,000 to \$140,000,000. By the middle of the nineties it had passed \$200,000,000. By the beginning of this century it reached \$300,000,000 and in 1910 \$450,000,000 per annum. So that what is happening is that gold is coming in in an enormously increasing quantity. It is true this is only added to the accumulated stock. The amount of money in the world cannot be absolutely known. The Director of the U. S. Mint estimates that there is \$7,000,000,000 (of coined money) in the world. But undoubtedly there is a vast amount of gold available for coinage. It is estimated that there is about fourteen billions of dollars worth of gold coined and uncoined in the world to-day. This means that the whole gold supply has probably doubled within the last fifteen years.

This is a very serious situation, and more serious is the fact that there is every probability that the gold production will go on unabated. As yet the South African gold fields have not been exploited over more than a reef about 61 miles long. These fields represent an amount of production that could be carried on at the present rate all through this century before the last of the gold would have been taken out of the Reef. Sir Lionel Philips has estimated that by the year 1905 only 4% of the gold in the Reef had been taken out of it after nearly twenty years of operation. True, that figure has now gone up to about 11%, but even at that it means that all the operations in South Africa from 1887 to 1913 have taken away only about 11% of the probable amount of gold in the Reef. More than that, owing to the new discoveries and inventions of chemistry, the working of the gold is becoming cheaper and cheaper. The cost of getting the gold out of the ground was enormous. In order to get out one pound of gold 80,000 pounds of solid dirt and material is handled. This is expensive. In 1905 it cost 27 shillings to handle a ton of that material. It now costs 17½ shillings. So you see a very peculiar situation exists. The



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production of gold is increasing, and is gradually cheapening. Now, as to the relation between gold and commodities—a price is simply the value of anything expressed in the terms of gold. So that cheaper gold and high prices are merely one and the same. There is a quaint irony here. Our stupendous find of gold in some of the waste places of the earth is bringing us the devil's gift of dear food.

I think in that line of argument we find the cause that is at work. I do not think it to be the only one. I think that in every community and particularly in North America, a great number of secondary and aggravated causes are at work to make high prices. It does very often happen, I believe, that some part of the food supply is cornered and sold at higher prices than the price of gold would make. The moment is propitious for the monopolist. We have become used to increased prices as a standing phenomena. We have lost our natural power of resistance to a price change. The monopolists know their power. So that I do not say for a moment that I would deny that the unjust gains of monopolists have something to do with the situation. It has. Here and there it has, and the treatment that should be meted out to people who extort from the public in this way should be the simple method adopted in the Middle Ages.

It is often said that the tariff is the cause of high prices. Far be it from me to introduce anything like a political attitude at this meeting. It is said in certain quarters that the high cost of living has come to be one of the slogans of political parties. We have too many slogans and too little honest truth. This question is a poor man's question. It is not to be made the sport of office-seekers. Let us come to it on a plain basis of truth and fact. I say it is frequently said that the tariff has something to do with the high prices. I would not wish here to dogmatize, but I do not think it fair to say that the tariff is the cause of the high prices. In Canada in 1890 we had a very high tariff and very low prices. In Canada in 1913 we have a very high tariff and very high prices. In England in 1900 we had no tariff and low prices. In England in 1913 we had no tariff and high prices. If any man can find a connection, therefore, between



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these two things he is welcome to the fruits of his ingenuity. But while the tariff is not the cause of high prices it is quite conceivable that the alteration of the tariff might be used as one of the means of getting lower prices. This is being done in the United States. If I understand the policy of Woodrow Wilson rightly he does not mean to make an attack upon the fundamental principle of protection. He has become convinced that prices are higher than the point needed for the protection of wages. He bases this condition upon the inflated gains of monopolists, and it is that, I think, against which the Woodrow Wilson Government has set its face. I would not for a moment presume to say here just what the situation is in regard to the Canadian tariff. What we need now most of all is not perhaps a sudden prejudgment of the question; we want light. What we need is to get at the facts. It is distinctly a poor man's question. Every penny taken out of the pockets of the poor by the high cost of living is being handed over to the rich. These rapidly shifting prices have made enormous fortunes for some. Captains of industry hurry to the windfall. In a certain sense the rake-off of the high prices goes into the pocket of the seller. But inflated prices are nothing more nor less than one man's loss and the other man's gain. Some will say, —well in the lottery of life the race is to the swift—let this thing remain as a permanent element of business. Yes, but sooner or later the constant shift of prices will bring down both the poor and the rich. Even those who during the last twelve or thirteen years have made enormous fortunes either out of the shift of the standard or owing to their own ingenuity or brains—even those people must lose; so that the industry and even the morality of the race is undermined by this shifting standard. I say, what can be done is to get light. Let us find out the facts, investigate the causes.

In the United States in the year 1899 there was established a body called the Industrial Commission, whose duty it was to inquire scientifically, thoroughly and fairly, but with every necessary power, into every aspect of the industry of the country. For three years a competent body of experts examined witness after witness. Everything that has been done since the report of that commission in 1902, the regulations of railroads, etc.,

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the more forward movement towards social welfare achieved by positive legislation, was supplied by the solid work done by the Industrial Commission. We need something of that sort in Canada, — a determination to get, first of all, the facts of the case, and then see what can be done in the way of legislative measures for the remedy.

[November 10, 1913.]

## AUSTRALIA

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BY SIR THOMAS TAIT

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**T**HIRTY minutes is but a short time in which to pay a visit to the other side of the world, and Australia is a large subject to cover within the time at our disposal. Therefore, without any preliminary remarks other than to thank you for the honor you have done me in asking me to talk to you about Australia, I shall plunge at once into our subject, and with that optimism characteristic of plungers I trust that we shall emerge with some better knowledge of Australia than we are now possessed of. I say advisedly "better knowledge" because I assume that many of you like myself before I went to Australia have only a hazy and general knowledge of that far-off country. I well remember that when an appointment in Australia was first broached to me I went to the Encyclopedia Britannica to find out what part of Australia Melbourne was in, and I found to my amazement that ten years ago its population was over five hundred thousand.

Now, under the circumstances of our comparative ignorance it is going to be necessary to-day to give you a dessert consisting mainly of dry facts and figures, but then you are at liberty to add as much liquid refreshment to this dry diet as you may find at your disposal. The figures that I shall give you are for the year ending June 30th, 1912, these being the latest available.

Australia has been aptly called the largest island and the smallest continent of the world. It has an area of three million square miles of which one-third lies within the Tropics. Here I would like you to bear in mind that Australia is in the Southern Hemisphere, and the farther North you go the hotter it gets. Their mid-Summer months are January and February, and their



## *Australia*

mid-Winter months are July and August. Christmas is usually a very hot day quite unsuitable for turkey and plum pudding, but the Britisher with his love for precedent and custom insists on having both. The area of Australia is four-fifths that of Canada, three-quarters that of Europe and more than one-quarter that of the area of the Empire. East and West it covers about twenty-five hundred miles, and North and South about two thousand miles. Far and away the largest state is Western Australia with one-third of the area of the Commonwealth. Next comes Queensland with one-fifth, then South Australia with one-eighth, then New South Wales with one-tenth, then comes Victoria, a small state about the size of England and Wales, and lastly Tasmania an island about one hundred and fifty miles to the South-East of Australia. But there is still left a large part of Australia which is not a State, and that is the Northern Territory taken over recently from the State of South Australia by the Commonwealth, and last but not least, Canberra, the new federal capital, an area of about one hundred square miles. There are no great mountains nor great rivers in Australia. There are coastal ranges more or less near the sea which culminate in two or three mountains about a mile high in the South-East part of Australia. Elsewhere the mountains scarcely deserve that name, and the country slopes away behind them to the interior of Australia of which a large part is but little above the level of the sea and some of it below that level. The interior of Australia was originally an ocean bed with an area of 1,500,000 square miles. I have said there are no great rivers. While the Murray River with its tributary, the Darling, is one of the longest rivers in the world, and in the Spring carries a large volume of water, except for a short time in the year very little water reaches the ocean by it, and for a part of the year none at all. More water is lost by seepage and evaporation than comes into it. The only other rivers are those that flow from the coastal ranges to the ocean. In the interior there are no rivers.

Australia extends from latitude  $11^{\circ}$  south of the equator to latitude  $38^{\circ}$ . To give you an idea of what that means I will illustrate it by saying that it would cover the latitude represented in America from the north end of South America to Washington,



## *Australia*

D.C. The northerly part, as I have said, lies in the Tropics, and is not adapted for colonization by white people. As to climate, at the sea-level there is rarely any snow or frost. I never saw snow or frost Melbourne during the seven and a half years I spent in Australia, and Melbourne is probably the coolest place at the sea level there with a climate corresponding to that of California. Adelaide's and Sydney's climate is something like that of Savannah, and Brisbane's reminds one of Florida. The heat of the interior is intense because of the lack of rain and the refraction of heat from the ground. As regards rainfall Australia is one of the driest countries in the world. The annual rainfall over one-third of Australia is under ten inches. A considerable area has under five inches of rain and over half of Australia little under fifteen inches of rain falls annually. In the North during the monsoon there is a copious rainfall, and in Victoria and other coastal districts there is usually ample rain.

The population of Australia is 4,500,000, an increase of 700,000 in the last ten years. It is not so densely populated as Canada, there being in Australia 1.57 inhabitants to the square mile and 1.93 in Canada. There is a notable feature about the population of Australia, and that is that nearly ninety-five per cent of the people have been born either in Great Britain, New Zealand or Australia, leaving only a balance of only 72,000, of which 20,000 are aborigines. The continent was never densely populated with aborigines, and they were of a very low order of intelligence. Their numbers quickly decreased with the advent of the white man, and perhaps what has been said of the Pilgrim Fathers, when they came to the New England Coast, may be said of Captain Cook and the early explorers: "First they fell upon their knees, and then they fell upon the aborigines."

The proportion of males in Australia and New Zealand, is larger than in any other country in the world, but, notwithstanding this, or perhaps because of it, they have given women the vote, so that we have now in Australia not "one man one vote" but "one adult one vote," and I may say here that in many matters that most intimately affect our homes and our lives women are as well if not better qualified to exercise the franchise than men. With regard to factory laws, morality, education, the liquor question, health and so forth, I think you

will agree with me that women are as much concerned and as well qualified to form an opinion as men.

The population of New South Wales, viz.: 1,600,000, is greater than that of any other State. Victoria is but a small State, but it has a population of 1,300,000. Therefore these two States have two-thirds of the population of Australia. Then comes Queensland with 600,000, South Australia with 400,000, Western Australia with 300,000 and Tasmania with 200,000. One striking feature of the distribution of population in Australia is the large proportion residing in the metropolitan cities. This is due largely to the fact that there is no population in the interior. There is practically no population more than three or four hundred miles from the Coast. Therefore there are practically no distributing centres except on the Coast and practically none except the capital cities of each State. The railways radiate from these cities like the spokes of a wheel, and all traffic flows to and from them. As a result there are no very large cities apart from the capitals.

The Commonwealth of Australia was formed in January, 1901, and the constitution of the United States rather than that of Canada was followed. That is, the Commonwealth was given certain specific powers, while everything else was left within the jurisdiction of the States, whereas in Canada we gave to the Provinces certain specific powers and everything else went to the Dominion. I think the latter plan has worked out the better of the two. The Governor-General is appointed by the Crown as in Canada. The Senate has thirty-six members from each State, three of whom retire every three years. They are elected by the citizens of the State as a whole. The House has a representation of 75 elected on a population basis with a minimum for any State of five. In each State there is a Governor not appointed by the Federal Government, as in Canada, but by the King, and there is an Upper and a Lower House. The members of the Upper House are appointed by the Governor-in-Council in New South Wales and Queensland, but are elected in the other States. In the Lower House the members are elected on the population basis. The Northern Territory was transferred by South Australia to the Commonwealth on January 1st, 1911, the Commonwealth assuming the loans applicable to

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it, and undertaking to build a North and South Transcontinental railway.

The product of greatest value in Australia is wool. The average value of the wool exported during the last five years reached the enormous average sum of \$130,000,000 per annum. There are more sheep in Australia than in any other country in the world—about one hundred million. Argentine is next, and Russia follows closely.

It may surprise you to learn that Australia produces 90,000,000 bushels of wheat per annum. The production per acre, however, is very small, viz. about thirteen bushels per acre. But even Canada is not doing what it should in that respect, the average production here being only about 16 bushels to the acre, while Belgium, Sweden, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Germany have an average of nearly thirty bushels an acre. The production of gold in Australia up to 1911 was the immense sum of \$2,650,000,000, of which the State of Victoria produced one-half. The gold produced in 1911 was worth \$50,000,000. Other minerals produced there are copper, silver, lead and coal. One product of Australia has increased enormously in the last few years. That is butter. There is government supervision of butter factories and the Victorian Government grades all butter exported from that State so that importers in Great Britain and other countries can rely on receiving the article they buy. The State also exercises supervision over the cold storage warehouses at the ports and the freezing chambers in the ships. Australia also exports frozen mutton and lambs and rabbits, hides and skins and good wine. The total trade of Australia for the year ended 30th June, 1912, was over \$690,000,000, while Canada's was \$890,000,000. With a little over one-half the population, Australia had more than 75 per cent. of the trade of Canada. The imports and exports of Australia per head of population amount to \$150, while that of Canada were \$120. The wealth per capita in Australia and New Zealand is greater than that of any other country in the world, except perhaps one or two.

The Customs tariff averages twenty-eight per cent on all goods, excluding free articles, the same as in Canada. Including free goods the percentage is about seventeen per cent., there also



the same as for Canada. They have a preferential tariff in Australia, the reduction in favor of Great Britain being equivalent to about 20 per cent.

Strange to say, although the Commonwealth has been in existence for twelve years or more it has practically no debt. The issue of notes by the Commonwealth instead of by the Banks gave the Commonwealth \$25,000,000 or \$30,000,000, and this, combined with an abounding revenue received from Customs and revenue from graduated land taxes, postal and excise revenue, etc., has permitted of large expenditures for Public Works and Defence Purposes. The debt of the States on the other hand amounts to the enormous sum of \$1,355,000,000, or \$300 per head. These loan monies have been expended mainly on railways, telegraphs, telephones, waterworks, harbors, irrigation and purchase of land for closer settlement. The average interest on these State Debts is at the rate of just under four per cent., which is more than offset by net revenue from the railways and other State public works. The railways aggregate over 18,653 miles, of which the States own 17,000, the others being private lines built for special purposes in connection with mines, etc. There are many railway gauges in Australia. On about one-half the railways the gauge is three feet and six inches. On about one-quarter four feet eight and one half inches, and on about one-quarter five feet three inches and there are a few miles of other gauges. The freight rate ton mile is higher in Australia than here, but the average haul is much shorter. The rate per passenger mile is about the same, but the rate for suburban traffic is lower. The transcontinental railway now being built between the East and the West is about one thousand miles in length. It is being constructed in consequence of an agreement between the Commonwealth and South Australia. On this railway an interesting experiment will be tried on account of the lack of water, and that is the use of internal combustion engines. A striking feature of the Victorian railways is the volume of suburban traffic. The average daily number of passengers in and out of the Melbourne Central Station is nearly two hundred thousand, and there are over fifteen hundred trains a day in and out of that station every day that do not go more than ten miles. The average distance



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travelled per suburban passenger is five miles and the average fare is 2½ pence. The Melbourne suburban lines are being electrified—the greatest electrification scheme yet undertaken.

I should like to deal with some of the Australian social and industrial legislation, but I fear I am restricted by time. I will only say, therefore, that, while some years ago Australia was in advance of the rest of the world in that direction, since then the rest of the world has been catching up, and much of the legislation enacted in Australia years ago is now operative in other countries. They have old age pensions, but not compulsory insurance against sickness and unemployment. They have most excellent factory laws. They have an eight hours working day and the minimum wage. The Australian working man's creed is "eight hours to work, eight hours to play, eight hours to sleep and eight bob per day." They have been wise enough never to make their industrial legislation applicable to their primary industries, such as grazing, wheat growing, etc. A curious result of the minimum wage is that it increases the number of unemployed, because the employer, if he has to pay a minimum wage, will not employ a man who is not worth it. The remedy is to say what wage a man who is not worth the minimum wage is worth and to allow that wage to be paid him. They have compulsory arbitration and more strikes in proportion to their industries than in any other country in the world. The employer is bound by the law because he has assets that the State can get at, but the employee can violate the law with impunity. The remedy to my mind is to pass legislation so that the funds of the Unions will be at stake in the event of a strike and so that the individual strikers can be fined.

One of the problems Australia has to deal with is the settlement of the Northern or Tropical portion. Australia will not allow colored people to come into the country, and this is called the policy of "a White Australia." They have great fear of the Yellow or Colored Peril, and are getting rid of all Chinese and other colored people now there as fast as they can. This means that, as the northern part of Australia is not suitable for colonization by white people, it must lie idle because its products, such as sugar, cannot be raised by white labor in competition with that produced by colored labor elsewhere. Most of the

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sugar produced in Australia to-day is produced by white labor, and that is possible only by the aid of bounties and customs protection and it is produced only to the extent of the Australian local market.

I wish to say a few words as to what Australia is doing in the matter of defence. Lord Kitchener recommended an organization of the land forces, including compulsory training, and his right-hand man was George Kirkpatrick, a son of the late Sir George Kirkpatrick. General Kirkpatrick assisted Lord Kitchener in his investigation and report, and finally was appointed to carry out the scheme recommended, and he has certainly done splendid work. Under that scheme all lads from twelve to fourteen years of age are junior cadets, and must drill ninety hours a year. Those from fourteen to eighteen are senior cadets, and have to receive instruction for four whole days, twelve half days, and twenty-four night drills per annum. Those from eighteen to twenty-five years of age are citizen forces which have to serve sixteen whole days per year, of which eight must be continuous camp work. In June, 1912, the defence forces including rifle corps and cadets had a membership of 168,000, and there has been a very large increase since then.

Now, a word as to defence on the sea. In 1890 Australia and New Zealand agreed with the British Government, that in consideration of certain vessels being kept in Australian waters, they would contribute \$630,000 per annum for interest and upkeep. In 1903 that agreement was superseded, Australia agreeing to pay up to one million dollars and New Zealand up to \$200,000 per year for interest and upkeep. In 1909, Australia decided to itself replace the squadron, provided under the previous agreement with the British Government, and Admiral Henderson went to Australia and recommended a scheme of defence by sea. The estimated cost of his complete scheme was two hundred million dollars and the annual upkeep twenty-four million dollars. Australia has now under construction a unit of this scheme which will cost \$18,750,000 with an annual upkeep of \$3,850,000. The larger ships and some of the smaller ones have been built in England. Those the construction of which has been undertaken in Australia are costing more and taking longer time to build than was at first anticipated. The estimated

expenditure by land and sea for the year ended June 30th last was \$27,000,000 of which the expenditure on the navy represents \$7,500,000 or \$1.70 per head of population. Those of you who heard the address of the Right Hon. Herbert Samuel recently will remember that he said that Great Britain spent for the defense of the Empire on the sea \$5 per head per annum. If Canada contributed on the same basis as Great Britain we would spend \$40,000,000 annually.

I desire to make a few observations as to the defense of the Empire on the seas, not, however, from the point of view of Canada and Canadians alone but of the whole Empire and all its peoples. Apart from a negligible few the white people of our Empire no matter their ancestry or race, irrespective of their religion, regardless of their politics, in my opinion desire the maintenance of our Empire, if for no loftier reason than their own individual interests and the general advantage of their respective communities; for there is much to lose and, so far as I can see, nothing to gain by the breaking-up or dismemberment of our Empire. What I have said of the white people of our Empire is, I think, true of the colored people so far as they are able to understand the question in all its aspects. Now, the maintenance of the Empire, with all the advantage it implies, including our freedom to conduct our trade unmolested and to make our own customs tariffs as we please, depends, I submit with confidence, on the impregnability of the Empire on the Seas against any probable combination that may be arrayed against it. If these two premises are correct, and I submit that they are sound, then it is the duty of all the people of this Empire, and to their interests to do their share towards placing the Empire in that impregnable position on the seas. And to do this as quickly as possible. That is the important point. Time. For it requires nearly two years to build a Dreadnought, and there are some who are familiar with the situation who say that it is even now too late to put ourselves in that impregnable position which it is necessary we should hold in the crucial year 1916. Each part of the Empire having determined what is the utmost it can do towards assisting in the increase of its naval forces, should, then, regardless of all other considerations, endeavor to obtain the greatest possible result in the least possible time, and it should continue to do



so until the Empire is absolutely, beyond peradventure of a doubt, impregnable on the ocean against any probable combination that may be arrayed against it. Again I emphasize the vital importance of time, and I leave this subject with these words to you, "As much as possible as soon as possible."

We have now emerged from our plunge into the subject of Australia. I trust that this addition to your lunch has not been unpleasantly dry or unpalatable. I hope it has somewhat increased your knowledge of Australia. I can assure a most hearty welcome and boundless hospitality to those who visit that distant land. You will find there a country to be proud of; and worthy of its position as one of the brightest jewels in the diadem of Dominions that constitutes such an important part of the crown of our magnificent Empire. You will find there an intelligent, progressive, resolute, resourceful and in every way fine people, a people who honor the same traditions, hold the same sentiments and have the same aspirations as yourself. You will find there fellow citizens who will not be found lacking when the call comes—and I fear it will—to rally to the defense of our great Empire.



[November 17, 1913]

## BRITISH CONSULAR SERVICE—ITS RELATION TO CANADA

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By J. J. BRODERICK

Acting British Consul, New York

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LET me begin by saying what a pleasure it affords me to be present here among you in this beautiful and historic city of Montreal; the very mention of which arouses in our minds memories of great events which brought glory to two great peoples, the French and the British, formerly the keenest of rivals in colonization and war and conquest, but now happily united on this side of the ocean under one flag, and on the other, under one guiding principle of mutual sympathy and peace and cordial understanding. If it be conceded, and I believe it will be conceded, that the subject upon which I propose to speak to you to-day—The British Consular Service and Its Relation to Canada—is a practical subject of importance to the Dominion, then there is no more appropriate place where my address could be delivered than the city of Montreal, which has played and now plays and will play even to a more significant extent in the future, such a leading part in the financial and commercial up-building of the Dominion and the Empire.

I recall an amusing story told about two criminals, one of whom had inside knowledge of the New York State prison at Sing Sing. The other, anticipating that his unconventional mode of life and the force of circumstances might not unnaturally result in his being compelled to make a long stay at that same hostelry, was inquiring of his friend respecting the daily routine of the place. He got descriptions of the way the prisoners were treated who had been sentenced for lesser crimes, and he finally asked, "And now, how do they manage to put people to death?" and

the other said, "That's a very simple thing indeed. They just sits them comfortable in a chair and then turns on the elocution." Now, you are all seated comfortably in chairs and apparently you are eager for a happy and speedy release, but fortunately, or perhaps unfortunately, there is no supply of elocution to be turned on, because the subject with which I have to deal to-day is a dry one, although of some importance; and it is one in which I shall have to quote figures and disjointed facts.

During the years which I have spent as a Consular official in New York, I have been much struck by the rarity of the occasions upon which inquiries from Canada reach the Consul-General and it occurred to me and to others of my colleagues that possibly Canadian business men, for various reasons, might be disposed to regard the British Consular service as existing exclusively, so far as its commercial activities are concerned at least, for the peculiar advantage of English, Irish and Scotch manufacturers and exporters. I discussed the matter with one or two Canadian gentlemen in New York who were interested and it was suggested to me that this notion, if it really existed at all, might be very easily dispelled if one of the Consular representatives in your near neighborhood could make a visit to the Dominion and explain to as many people as had time or inclination to listen to him, that not only does no ban exist which would prevent British Consuls from placing their services at the disposal of Canadians, but that the British Government and the Consular officials are most eager that they should have frequent opportunities of doing so. Indeed, the desire of His Majesty's Government in this respect has recently been repeated and emphasized by a circular despatch issued by the Foreign Office to all British Consuls, instructing them to neglect no opportunity of doing all they possibly could for Canadian business and commerce and of corresponding with the Canadian Government and Canadian firms. The Circular, I understand, was the result of correspondence and conversation between the Canadian Government and Sir Edward Grey. Now, the Consul-General at New York and myself have on many occasions had the pleasure of making the position clear to Canadian audiences in New York City, and towards the close of last August at the Annual Con-

vention of Canadian Clubs at Niagara Falls, I briefly covered the ground over which I shall endeavor to go just now. After that meeting it was very gratifying to me to receive several communications and requests for information from Canadian sources, which according to their writers were the immediate results of my observations on that occasion. At the present time I am engaged on a short tour of some of the principal business centers of Canada, with the object of placing the same message before a wider public, and in an endeavor to arouse, if I am able, a greater interest in the services which the British Consular Service all over the world may be in a position to render to the commerce of the Dominion. Of course I am well aware that the main reason you do not more frequently seek a foreign outlet for your manufactured product is that the domestic demand for manufactured articles is greatly in excess of the production. I remember reading a story about an energetic citizen of the United States who wished to introduce a new regime in the foreign trade of America. Travelling in Russia he found that there was a very wide demand for a certain article of American manufacture. So he sat down at his hotel and wrote one hundred and fifty letters to that many manufacturers in the United States turning out this particular article, and he was surprised to receive only fifteen replies, all of them saying that they had enough to do to satisfy the home demand and one of them suggested that if the Russians really wanted this article of American manufacture the only possible way to get it would be by putting up an American factory in Russia and making the goods there. Now, it is claimed by men who have made a deep study of the subject that it will take years before your factories and mills will be able to overtake your home requirements. Year by year they are growing more voluminous and varied, owing to the development of the West and Northwest and the increasing population devoting its labor and energy to the extraction of wealth from forest and mine and river. Statistics of the importation of manufactured goods from the United States and elsewhere seem fully to justify this view. But when we look on the other side of the picture, we find that the volume of manufactured products in the Dominion last year was valued at almost \$1,165,000,000. During the past decade the capital



invested in industry increased 180%. In the same period the value of your industrial production has increased some 144%. The total volume of your commerce has almost doubled itself in ten years and your population, less than 4,000,000 in 1868, has increased to close upon 8,000,000. The immigrants flocking to your shores are drawn from the most alert, thrifty and able nations of the old world and the new. Incidentally, I venture to congratulate you upon the great care taken in this direction and the efficiency of your method. I think you will save yourselves many problems of assimilation in the future, problems which are grave and difficult of solution in your immediate neighborhood.

The value of exportation of manufactured goods was a little over \$2,000,000 in 1868; it reached \$16,000,000 in 1901, and has more than doubled itself in the existing decade and has reached a total of almost \$42,000,000 in 1912. The vast water power at Niagara and elsewhere is being rapidly chained and being made the servant of industry, by transmission into electricity to drive your mills. I am sorry to have to quote here these dry figures to illustrate the progress, with which you are much more familiar than I am, but I claim that they are sufficiently significant to justify the expectation that Canada, in the near future, will be ranked as one of the great industrial countries of the world. Even now she is not indifferent to foreign markets, and she will enter the arena with the other great industrial countries of the world and compete with them in the race for the custom of the world's population. When she does so, when this time arrives, she will find her competitors equipped with the keenest and most up-to-date methods. Their Consular Services will be very sensitive and keenly alert to discover new outlets for their products, and it will then perhaps be a fortunate circumstance that the British Consular Service will have been engaged in the fight from the outset. It will have the experience which will enable it, without any interval of preliminary training or initial mistakes, to place whatever powers and whatever influence it possesses at the disposal of Canada, and to help on the material expansion of the Dominion.

Let me now briefly define what the British Consular Service is—what are its duties and equipment—what is the nature



of the influence and assistance it can offer to Canadian manufacturers as they enter more and more into the foreign field. To answer these questions, even cursorily, it will be necessary to take a brief glance at the history of Consular Service in general; what its traditions are, and how they affect its standing and influence at the present time. The office of Consul, though not the name, originated with the idea of having a reputable person, one of standing and good judgment, who in the case of disputes with seamen or foreign merchants, would be vested with the authority to settle these disputes in accordance with his sense of fairness and equity, and whose decision would be accepted without question by the parties to the disputes. He would go on board foreign vessels trading on their shores and decide any disputes that arose between the seamen and merchants according to their own confessions and the facts as he saw them. That is precisely what I try to do every day. The ancient Egyptians are said to have had a special High Priest consecrated for the peculiar purpose of deciding commercial and other disputes between foreign traders and his own people. They had a special temple, dedicated to the Gods, where the Priests sat in judgment and rendered their decisions. I am greatly afraid that our religion in modern times has not such a close hold on us as would make us chary against protesting at an adverse decision, even in the church; and from my close acquaintance with seamen I am sure that they would feel distinctly uncomfortable if their holy surroundings deprived them of the wonderful vocabulary which assists them so materially in a dispute. These functionaries appeared to be the earliest Consuls recorded in history. They were the citizens of the country in which the dispute arose. Their powers were derived from laws which were alien to the seamen and others between whom they interfered. After Egypt had set the example, other nations were quick to discover that the only way to deal with the situation, to protect their foreign trade, was to establish in the foreign countries visited by their vessels, men of their own race, men of influence and upright character, who would have power to act for their country and countrymen not only in trifling matters, but also in matters of national importance which might result in the friendship or hostility of states. It is not now important for us to know when

and how they came to do this, and I only mention it in order to show you the antiquity of the office of Consul. Italy established a Consular arrangement, in a form similar to the present one, after the decay of the Western Empire. England was slow to follow the lead of the Italian States in this respect, probably by reason of the later development of her trade. The first English Consul, strange to relate, was an Italian. He was appointed by King Richard III in 1485, about three months before the King was killed at the Battle of Bosworth Field, and he was made Consul at Pisa, where English merchants were trading. His commission is still preserved, the earliest original copy of a Consul's commission in existence. We read in it that the King, "observing that certain merchants and others from England going to foreign ports desirous of selling their goods, were in need of a magistrate among them to determine all disputes between merchants and others native of England, and being assured of the probity and uprightness of one, Lorenzo Strozzi, appoints him to be Consul at Pisa, allowing him one-quarter and one per cent. of all goods of English import sold at Pisa to recompense him." Unfortunately, this excellent system of remuneration has not survived. If it had, even with my short acquaintance with New York, I feel that I would now be in a position to retire to the beautiful city of Montreal and live in peace and plenty for the rest of my life.

Lorenzo must have performed his duties well, for it did not take long before other Consuls were appointed in the various cities where the progress of English trade demanded it.

During the last five centuries the Consular appointments have gone steadily on until at the present time we have British Consular representatives at every place of importance, and at some places of no importance at all. During the last five centuries they have been closely connected with the growth of British commerce. Foreign critics, as well as British writers, generally speaking, concede that they have greatly assisted in its development. Until the nineteenth century Consuls were generally traders, whose first interest might be supposed to be their own. This circumstance drew down upon them the sarcastic criticism of no less a person than the famous Prime Minister of the First Napoleon, as well as the Finance Minister

### *British Consular Service—Its Relation to Canada*

of Louis XIV. In his instructions to French Consuls the following passage occurs:—

“In foreign countries Frenchmen are judged by their Consuls; Consuls are judged by their intelligence and character. Upon you depends whether the French nation shall be respected abroad. It is the glory of France that their Consuls have no connection with business. The commercial nations of Europe have hastened to imitate the splendid Consular system of France. Every English Consul is either a trader on his own part or for his Government.”

Now the criticism which was aimed at Consuls at that time was really significant. This state of affairs continued until 1825, when the British Consular Service was re-organized. It has undergone several changes since that time, tending to improvement. In non-Christian countries, British and other Foreign Consuls enjoy the same privileges as are extended to the natives. In all countries Consuls are granted certain rights and privileges, such as freedom from arrest, inviolation of the Consular archives, exemption from taxation, freedom from military service and freedom from the obligation to appear as witnesses. Owing to this protection and the distinction of their calling they enjoy a prestige in places where they reside, that enables them to obtain information on trade matters which would be accorded with reluctance, perhaps not accorded at all, to private individuals or even to Government representatives who went under any other title. To seek to protect and extend the foreign commerce of their country forms the chief duty of the Consuls in the different industrial countries of the world. Other countries take full advantage of the facilities possessed by their Consuls, and British business men cannot afford to neglect this feature. No doubt raw materials and food-stuffs compel their own market. But the producer of manufactured goods must use every device at his command to sell his product. Consuls cannot, of course, take the place of manufacturers' representatives. A Consul cannot sell goods, nor bring negotiations to a conclusion. He has no definite proposal to make. He cannot create trade, but he can indicate the manner in which trade can be created; he can give invaluable information respecting local styles and pre-



judices. For instance, it would be useless to try and sell wash-tubs in Singapore, where they wash their clothes in mid-stream. I remember a story about another energetic American who went to South Africa and noticed that there was quite a demand for clocks, and he found that these clocks had up to that time been exported from the United Kingdom; the trade was in British hands. He conceived a bright idea to get hold of that business for his own particular firm in Waterbury. He got hold of one of the clocks and found it was really an inferior article; that they could sell a better one for a lower price. He went back and laid this before his firm; they set to work and manufactured quite a lot of clocks at a low price. They sent them to South Africa and to their intense surprise the Kaffirs would have nothing to do with them. They applied to their Consul to find out what was the reason. The Consul told them that among the Kaffirs it was a sign of respectability to have clocks—it gave them a higher social standing. The more clocks they possessed the higher their standing, and the American clocks were not taken because the British clocks had a louder tick. Each Kaffir as he passed by the hut of the other could hear the tick of the clocks, and knew that he was a "big pot." So the American clocks did not suit them at all.

Now a Consul can furnish you with reports on questions of trade, harbour improvements, extension of railroad facilities and other means of transportation tending to open up new districts to commerce, increasing and decreasing demand for goods, changes in taste, habits of life affecting the demand for exported articles.

A recent writer describes an amusing incident. He went into a shop in a small village, the only general shop in the place. He saw a young woman engaged in taking candles out of yellow wrappers and substituting blue wrappers. He expressed surprise and asked the proprietor the reason for this waste. The merchant told him that formerly he did a roaring trade in candles wrapped in blue paper. The last consignment of candles had come wrapped in yellow paper and that his customers had refused to buy them in this state, therefore he was forced to substitute blue wrappers.

Consuls can, and constantly do, render great assistance to trade by giving full information regarding local regulations covering the importation of goods, especially in countries where the tariffs are changeable. I remember hearing that a certain bright Customs Officer insisted upon a Major's coat being classed as household furniture, and snails have been classed as wild animals (unenumerated). I myself had a friend who had a pet puppy dog that she wanted to bring into England. The regulations forbid the importation of dogs; the only condition on which permission will be given at all is that the dog shall be placed in quarantine for six months. It would have broken her heart to part with the dog, and so, to my knowledge, she fraudulently passed that dog as a wolf! I have not yet been able to convince her that she is not going straight to heaven when she dies.

Consuls can give information that will help in the development of new branches of industry, regarding the transfer of capital from one manufacture to another, new appliances in agriculture, information relating to finance, currency, public loans and taxation. I might sum up his duties by saying that he is an ambassador of trade. He sees that its way is made as easy and as smooth as possible. The victory in trade is to the strong and the well-equipped. Canada is the land of the Twentieth Century. Her development will proceed with greater acceleration than that of the United States, due to the fact that she enters the field later, when mechanical invention has made greater progress. Canadian business men have in their hands one of the best organized institutions in the world. For, notwithstanding certain criticism which is only occasionally justified, the British Consular Service may fairly be said to be equal in efficiency to that of any industrial nation. Of course you must remember that in every organization there are good men and bad men, keen and negligent men, alert and careless men, but it may safely be said that much improvement has been brought about, a much greater interest in Canada has been evinced, since the arrangement between the Canadian Government and the Foreign Office. A Consul cannot, of course, be a specialist in every line. Like everybody else, he must depend for his knowledge on experience. If he were a specialist in any line, he would most likely be in it and making a fortune for himself.

## *British Consular Service—Its Relation to Canada*

What is needed is that the service should be composed of men of versatility and common sense. Canadians of ability such as this will be very welcome recruits indeed to the service. The efficiency of the Consuls will be enhanced by requests for information, for letters of introduction and requests for assistance by Canadian and other British firms. I hasten to add that I have been instructed not only by the Government, but by the Consul-General in New York and all colleagues, to urge you to make use of us and of all our resources and influence whenever you may feel it to your advantage to do so. For myself, I may say that to me it would be an intense satisfaction to have some share, however slight, in the wonderful extension which is in its commencement for the Dominion of Canada; and I think that I should be rendering a service for my country as great as any which could be performed by a loyal servant. Therefore I trust that as a result of these few words, that you will let the Consular Service help you as much and as often as the necessity arises; and you may be assured that we shall give to Canadian interests the same close attention which we would give to any Englishman, whether from England, Ireland, Scotland or any other part of the British Empire.



[November 28, 1913]

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GREAT NATIONAL FIRE WASTE

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BY FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH

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I COME to you to-day, gentlemen, in a spirit of humility, because the United States is an old culprit, with Canada, and we are suffering from the same gigantic waste in almost the same proportion that you are. I shall speak to-day of the waste of created resources through fire. Things burned are gone forever. They can only be replaced by an equal, perhaps a greater output of human energy. You are perhaps familiar with the difference between the statistics of the fire waste in the United States and Canada on the one hand, and the countries of Europe on the other. The average annual per capita loss in six continental countries of Europe is 33 cents, while the average annual per capita loss in the U. S. and Canada is \$3.00. Canada has the largest fire waste per capita of any country in the world. I have recently had placed in my hands by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, by whose courtesy I visit you to-day, some recent statistics up to the 1st of November, of fires over \$10,000 occurring in the first ten months of the years 1911, 12 and 13. In 1911 Canada had 154 fires, involving a loss of over \$10,000 each; in 1912 Canada had 250 such fires in the first ten months; in the first ten months of this year Canada had 388 such fires, so it would seem that in this particular direction you are going the wrong way over here, and it is high time you gave consideration to this very serious matter. Now the average person does not think statistically, and \$3.00 per capita of fire waste does not mean very much to the average man. But if we analyze it we see that every man, woman and child in America pays \$3.00 per year for fire waste, and an ordinary family of five pays \$15.00

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per year for this purpose. Now, if on some very blue Monday a collector were to ask us each for our cheque for \$15.00, our share of the national carelessness, we would realize that we had to pay it.

We do not realize it because it is included in the cost of everything we eat and drink and wear. Merchants and manufacturers handling large stocks of goods know that the insurance cost is added to the cost of the goods and is shouldered in the end by the consumer. The ordinary citizen does not realize that when he buys a hat, a coat, etc., he pays this tax merged in the cost of the goods. Indirect taxation is the worst of all. It is the method of getting the most feathers with the least squawking. We have had indirect taxation for some time in the United States. We have just inaugurated the income tax in an endeavor to get away from indirect taxation.

If the masses knew how this tax was paid they would give more serious thought to it. Wool, for instance, is insured in transportation, in the warehouse, in the factory, in the department store, the clothing store, the drygoods store; all the way along from the back of the sheep, that wool bears this tax, and when we buy a suit of clothes we pay it, concealed in the cost of the goods. If people only realized the economic significance of this tremendous burden of waste they would mend their habits. We are the most careless people on the face of the earth in handling fire. We are the worst municipal housekeepers of any people in the world. We put ashes in wooden receptacles—the result is a fire. Someone smoking in bed sets fire to the house. We are the most careless people with matches on the face of the earth. In Europe if you want a match you have got to go where it is kept; but we Americans have matches everywhere, in all our bureau drawers, on our library tables, mantle pieces, in all the linings of our old waistcoats. If we wake up in the middle of the night we feel insulted if we cannot find a match. Yet matches are fire. A match may burn an entire city.

In our homes, particularly, we are severe transgressors. The match that lights only on the box is the only match that we should light in our homes. Every day there come to my desk press notices of the loss of life through the striking of matches.

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Women are burned by setting their skirts on fire, and the loss of child life is very great. The child is imitative and it is a dramatic thing to strike a match. He sees an elder sister or brother or father strike a match and that act makes a tremendous impression upon his little mind. He bides his time until he gets hold of these wonderful little pieces of fire, and perhaps burns the house and his own body.

The other night I went out to dinner with a friend—an insurance man. When we left his house to go out to the club, he lighted his cigar and threw the match at the foot of the stairs. I was so astonished at a man in his line of business doing a thing like that that I said: "Did you notice what you have done?" He said, "Oh, I tried to hit that cuspidor." I said, "You threw your match on the carpet and your babies are asleep upstairs." He said, "That *was* a fool trick. I'll never do it again." But that man had been throwing fire in just that fashion ever since he began to smoke. And men whom you meet everywhere, in hotels, in clubs, do just that sort of thing. They have a dim sub-conscious thought, perhaps, that that match should be extinguished. They shake it a little and throw it away—they don't know where. It is just this sort of carelessness, this unconscious incendiarism, that we are trying to suppress. One gentleman asked me, "What about the man who commits arson—the man who burns for money?" Well, if we can handle, if we can suppress, the unconscious incendiarism that we have to-day, we'll handle the other situation. We can take care of the individual who occasionally burns for money, when we weed out the man who burns through carelessness all the time.

The fire waste in this country and in the United States has averaged for the last twelve years, \$250,000,000 a year, and this does not mean forest fires—it means the burning of created resources. What country—what hemisphere can stand continually a drain like that? We are beginning to feel it. The people are complaining. This is a tremendous item in the cost of living. We turn to the insurance companies and complain of the insurance rates. But how can the insurance rates be reduced except by reducing the cause of it all? Three States of the United States have made investigations in the last few years of the fire insurance business, and all three of these legislative



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investigations were undertaken in a spirit of hostility to the insurance companies, but each reached the conclusion that nothing can be done to cope with this problem until this tremendous fire waste is stopped. \$250,000,000—what if we were to lose that out of the Treasury annually? What if we should throw that much corn or cotton into the sea every year? It seems impossible for us to be shocked nowadays by an ordinary fire. A hundred thousand dollar fire is commented upon in Europe. They investigate. A hundred thousand dollar fire in Europe shocks Europe. But if we pick up a morning paper and do not find two or three such fires recorded in it we think it has been a dull day. A two or three hundred thousand dollar fire has no news value. A two hundred thousand dollar fire in Edmonton recently had about an inch of space. The ordinary citizen would say, "Was it insured? Yes. All right, nobody has to pay for it." Now it is because we are besotted with the idea that the insurance companies pay this tremendous waste that we are indifferent to it. If the insurance companies got their revenues from Mars or Jupiter we might very well be indifferent to it. Otherwise, how could they pay this waste and remain solvent? As a matter of fact, they are merely collectors and distributors of this tax. It falls upon the citizen direct. It is merely distributed by the insurance companies, and because it is collected through this medium in the form of indirect taxation, we are indifferent to it and cease to care about it. This \$250,000,000 means \$30,000 an hour—it means \$500 a minute, day and night for twelve years of created resources—the work of men's hands. That means, that every ten minutes in all that time we have destroyed or allowed to be destroyed the equivalent of a \$5,000 home. And another point that is overlooked is that each city pays for the other. We are still paying for the San Francisco fire, and to-morrow Baltimore and San Francisco may pay for Montreal or Boston. This is the business of averages. The whole city, the whole country, pays the losses of each city as they occur.

Now it is obvious that there is a great difference between life and fire insurance. I hold no brief for the fire insurance companies. In my work as an engineer I can see these things very clearly. In regard to life insurance, any actuary can tell

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about how many men of a certain age, over a certain period, will pass away, and can adjust rates accordingly. The life insurance business should be financially sound. Fire insurance is a gamble and it must remain so, so long as an entire city can be swept away in a single night. Those attempting to make rates cannot know anything about it. Experts do not know. Nobody knows what an adequate rate is. You can apply a schedule, but on the whole, nobody can tell what the proper rate is so long as the conflagration hazard exists. This is the point which you must take into consideration.

I wish to devote the rest of my short time to the engineering aspect of this problem. The conflagration hazard being the principal offender, if we could confine every fire to the building in which it occurred we should have a condition analogous to the life insurance business, but it is the conflagration hazard that upsets all our calculations. The brick, stone or concrete building is a fire wall, a stop, if the fire can be kept out of it. We put up brick, stone or concrete buildings and then we leave them exposed at the weakest point by wooden window frames and trim and thin glass. The fire goes through as easily as through a wooden building. If we will protect our window openings in our congested districts with metal window frames and trim and wired glass, we will stop conflagration. If New York City, where the conflagration hazard to-day is very great, were to do that, the conflagration hazard would be abolished. Now that is so simple from an engineer's point of view that we marvel that attention has not been paid to it long before this. We have not thought much about it and so we carry this tremendous risk in our congested districts. You must want a thing before you will bring it to pass, and when we realize this tremendous burden under which we are staggering, when we realize that this simple engineering solution is open to us, we shall have the will, as citizens, to care for and protect our properties as we should. Then there is the wooden shingle. This is a means of starting conflagration. It ignites from a spark and furnishes the flying brand. If we will protect our window openings and put in any kind of a roof covering besides wooden shingles—even tar has some advantages, in that it does not furnish the flying brand or ignite from a spark—if we will do those two things we

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will cut this \$250,000,000 loss in two, perhaps less than that, at once.

Then we must revise our building codes. We must limit the height of the buildings. I was told in Toronto yesterday that the limit of the building height is 130 feet, and the law will not allow a building to go up over 130 feet. I said, pointing to one of their buildings, "What is that?" "Oh, that man got special permission from the Council to do that." All that was tried in Boston. We have a law prohibiting buildings over 125 feet high. The Ames Building went up and that probably precipitated the law in the State of Massachusetts that no building should be built over 125 feet. The Westminster Hotel, desiring to extend, put on another storey by permission from the City Council and the State came in and said, "Will you please cut that storey off the hotel?" The State further said, "If you don't do it—we will." So they cut the top off and brought suit against the city and got damages. Now there is no reason why a city with plenty of room for lateral expansion should attempt to get to heaven by this route. All the cities of the United States are going to pass these regulations, even Philadelphia is going to do it, and when Philadelphia comes in it must be all right. New York is going to do it too, but then New York is no longer a city architecturally; New York is a disease. That may seem rather severe. New York is shut in between the north and east rivers. The land values have climbed to enormous proportions, and so it seemed the proper thing to build skyward in order to realize on the land value invested. But downtown New York is not a pleasant place to-day. The streets are dark, in the lower offices they have to work by electric light continually, simply because the congestion is so great. Every skyscraper that goes up in lower New York adds to this congestion. In the rush hour the subway is so jammed with people that they can hardly get in or out. Every day at this hour there are 400,000, perhaps more, in the subway. What if San Francisco should be repeated in New York City with those people sealed up in that subway? They say an earthquake could not happen in New York. But we cannot be certain about the subterranean fires of the earth. Who can tell? We know that the earth is shrinking and we cannot tell where the fires will break out. If we did have such a



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catastrophe, if the watermains and the gasmains broke, you can just imagine what it would mean to have people packed in the subway in the rush hour, unable to get out. What a frightful holocaust we would have. Another serious feature is the sewerage. The other day all the basements of lower New York were flooded. Why is this? Because these skyscrapers going up all the time so overload the sewerage system that they are practically full all the time. Unless they cease to attempt to reach the stars by this route, New York is going to have to re-construct her entire sewerage system at an enormous cost. The Woolworth Building has 54 storeys. Envious Seattle has just put up a skyscraper of 42 storeys. While building, a four-ton derrick got loose on the 39th floor and broke through the concrete floors all the way to the basement. This should have been a lesson to them, but it wasn't. There is no reason why cities with plenty of room for lateral expansion should build to the sky. There is an architect in New York who declares that there are a greater number of people who travel greater distances vertically every day on Manhattan Island than travel horizontally. Recently, at a class in New York to teach firemen fire prevention, a couple of firemen from Philadelphia were present, and the question was asked, "What would you do with the water tower if a fire were to break out on the 54th storey?" These Philadelphians looked at each other and said, "We're out of our class. We don't have to fight fires in Heaven in Philadelphia." The fact is that the water tower is useless above the 8th storey. The angle of projection is so sharp that the water hits the ceiling and falls a foot or two within the window. Our present fire department apparatus is of no use above the 8th storey. Then again, we have assumed that it was the business of firemen to extinguish fires, but firemen can do a great deal to prevent fires. They have a tremendous power as fire preventers. New York, Cleveland and Chicago now have regular firemen to make continual inspections. Your Chief here has been doing this in Montreal, and has reduced the number of fires tremendously. However, he has not enough men for this purpose. You ought to have enough men to cover the entire city regularly. You must consider that it would pay in the end. It would take a small sum in comparison to what you are paying out all the time for pro-

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tection. And then it will help your Fire Department. The firemen will be more efficient, because they will learn all the alleyways, the blind alleys, exits, and so on, and when a fire occurs they will be able to work more intelligently. We have never used our Fire Departments for fire prevention. We are just beginning to see their possibilities in this direction.

Then, if you had a regular Fire Marshal, to educate the people, to gather fire statistics, to inquire into the causes of fires, and so on, it would pay. We have this office in about 25 States of the Union and the other States are working toward that end. Ontario will have such an official before the next year is out, at any rate. Quebec Province ought to have one. You should have them all through Canada, so that every fire will be inquired into. When that is done, when the people realize that they pay this fire waste, then the attitude toward the man who has a fire will change. At present he is sympathized with. In France, if a man has a fire which destroys another man's premises, he will have to pay his neighbor's loss. If we had that law we should be more careful. In Germany, if you cannot prove that you are in nowise responsible for your fire, you have to pay the loss and pay the city for the use of the Fire Department. This may seem very severe, but it has led to a different point of view. A man in Europe is considered a public offender, who has a fire, unless he can prove that he is in nowise responsible for the fire. And that is the only way. We must bring the law to bear upon people before we can make much headway in this matter. We are rather anarchistic both in Canada and the United States. The small boy even thinks a policeman something of a joke. The other day in Boston a woman left a baby carriage outside a department store. The baby began to cry and a policeman, looking round for the mother, and seeing no one in sight, started to wheel the child to the station. One of the newsies looked up in the officer's face and said, "What's the kid done?"

When we regard the man who has a fire as a public offender, a man who picks all our pockets by that fire; when we realize the economic significance of this fire waste, then we will begin to take hold of the cures at hand and bring about a better condition in this regard than we have even dared to dream of.

[December 1, 1913]

## THE NEW REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND ITS RELATION TO CANADA

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BY GEORGE SHERWOOD EDDY,

International Secretary, Y.M.C.A.

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SEEING this big body of men here to-day reminds me of a similar gathering two months ago in China. We met many young men who had helped in the recent revolution and who were shaping the new republic of China. The gathering there that evening gave evidence of the awakening that is sweeping not only China but the whole of the Continent of Asia as well. There was Young China, arrayed in evening dress, with their modern ideas, evidence of the great intellectual awakening sweeping the East. There were graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, Yale, Harvard, McGill and Toronto; hundreds of young men—men who have been educated in the West and are guiding the affairs of the China of to-day. The whole East is waking up. In almost every city in China I found deserted Buddhist temples handed over to house the new colleges, the old examination halls are being torn down to build the new Parliament buildings and the new universities of China. There was evidence that night of the new industrial and commercial awakening that is sweeping through China and the East: To my right sat the Andrew Carnegie of China, the leader of the great steel industry there. I wonder if we realize how rapidly trade is developing in the Far East and how much it is going to mean to Canada and the United States in the next two decades. In the last fifty years of the nineteenth century the trade of India increased fourfold; that of China sixfold; that of the Philippines doubled; while the trade of Japan has multiplied sevenfold in the last twenty years. When I went round the world recently on one of the great Japanese



liners, a daily paper was by our plates every morning; while crossing the Pacific, we received news by wireless from Asia and America, giving us the world's news every day. Those Japanese steamship lines, comfortable and highly efficient, are paying good dividends, while the lines of the United States could not pay dividends and could not successfully compete with them. But Japan has few undeveloped resources. The development of China will be very much larger in the near future. Even India—her trade to-day amounts to one billion and a half, and is increasing all the time, in spite of the poverty of the people. She is the largest exporter of rice in the world. She leads in the export of tea. Next to America, she is the largest exporter of hides; next to the United States, of cotton; and the largest producer of wheat, next to the States. She stands fourth in all the world with her splendid railway system. She leads the world to-day, nothing in North America can touch it, in the splendid irrigation system. Forty-six thousand miles of irrigated land, in a line that would stretch ten times across Canada—she has already redeemed more than 20,000 acres of waste land; with a splendid system of government that is improving the people as rapidly as possible. They can take the census of every man, woman and child in a single night between sunset and sunrise. They have the most scientific census in the world, and they do not leave out a large proportion of the population, as they do in Canada and the States.

The trade of India and Japan will be far surpassed by that of China. Here sat this Captain of Industry, with his 5,000 laborers in his steel mills there in the Pittsburg of China. They have discovered the greatest coal fields in the world. There is enough coal in one Province alone to supply the world with coal for a thousand years. I saw myself great bits of anthracite bulging out of the surface; and the iron ore from China is better for castings than that of Pittsburg. It has the greatest supply of cheap labor in the world. According to the Hon. John W. Foster, former American Minister, China will build more railways in the Twentieth Century than any country in the world. They have skilled labor there working for \$1.25 a week, ten hours a day, and not complaining, but thriving. You put together the greatest coal supply of the world, with a tremendous

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supply of iron ore and the greatest supply of cheap skilled labor and you have an economic condition that must be faced. The trade of China is going to expand, but we are not awake as yet to its great possibilities. If we could realize that to raise the standard of living in the East to the level of our own would add four North Americas to the world's trade, we would be near the truth. The United States has not wakened up, even with the opening of the Panama Canal, to the possibilities of the Eastern trade. In the trade of China, while Great Britain led with over 50%, and Japan with 17%, the United States had only 6%. And in the carrying trade, Great Britain had 46% and America less than 1%. I hope that Canada will not remain asleep to the tremendous openings for trade that will rapidly come in the far East. We are facing a great economic development in China. There was evidence at that banquet not only of an intellectual and economic awakening, but of a great political awakening as well. I believe that the new Chinese republic has come to stay; I say that, after travelling through that country from end to end since the revolution. That revolution was not merely a sudden movement—it was the culmination of a long, slow evolution. Think of the strength of character of that Chinese race—people with 4,000 years of continuous history behind them—that has witnessed the rise and fall of every nation that began with them. They have not decayed as some have. To-day China stands a country with her future still before her after 4,000 years of history. In the Boxer Rebellion, 40,000 laid down their lives rather than sacrifice their faith. I say that with the strength of character and the natural democracy of the Chinese people—the great self-governments, in political institutions, in the family, in the clan, in trade—the new Republic has come to stay. The Chinese are the only people who could suffer such misgovernment as they did under the Manchu Dynasty and still retain their democratic character and their democratic institutions. The present President is not an angel, but I believe he is going to play the same part in China that Robert Clive did in India. No doubt there will be local disturbances, but that republic has come to stay. Those young men who were present that night, and who will be in every branch of that great republic, have put up a more efficient and determined fight for improve-

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ments—against opium, for instance—than any nation in the West has done against the liquor traffic.

I could see in that room evidences of a great awakening, not only intellectual, economical and political, but moral and religious as well. Just at the right of this Carnegie of the East sat a young man who only a year or two ago was at Yale winning his honors. Then the revolution broke out and he hastened back to his own country, anxious to get to the front while there was "a chance to die." He went to the front; the revolution government found it could trust him and made him Minister of Foreign Affairs. The President found he could trust him and made him his Acting Minister of Commerce on his Cabinet. He was the Y. M. C. A. Secretary. One of the officials said to him, "The President may not like to see a man closely associated with Christianity on his Cabinet." He said, "No, very likely he won't. In that case I'll resign." He started for Peking, the President made no objection to his faith. The country found they could trust him and sent him to the Senate; he was then elected Vice-President of the Senate. The President lost his seat. That young fellow just out of college kept his head; and he is there now, guiding the affairs of that great country and trying to lay the foundation of the new republic.

Our work in China is to reach these young leaders in thought. They will do the rest. China is giving us a most wonderful hearing. As we went across Asia this year we were struck by the great changes in the past 17 years. In an absence of one year, even, I found China had entered upon a new stage of development. The Balkan War had come, opening up Turkey in the near East. Korea was adjusting herself to the new regime. China is last but not least. She has stepped out in one day, as it were, into constitutional government, with a modern republic.

As we crossed Asia the audiences of students averaged 800 a night in Japan, 1,000 a night in the Indian Empire, but in China, as we visited 14 cities of the Great Republic, the student audiences averages 2,000 a night, and in the last two cities they increased to 5,000 a day. I have never seen anything like it in my life. Dr. Mott was in the North, where in 1900 the officials were cutting off the heads of missionaries. This year the Govern-



ment was building a great hall to hold 5,000 students. We go there with no narrow or sentimental purpose. We merely want to give them the same foundation, the same basis for their new republic, which we have for our own Western civilization. When you think of a city of a million people with not a playground, no library, no places of resort, no clean, moral, wholesome influences, imagine what it means. It means that we have to preach physical gospel. We have organized olympic games, for a nation that is down and out physically. Think what it means to preach a physical gospel. Intellectually too the nation has not had a chance. In North America any boy can get an education. But there to-day half of the population cannot read or write. Our day and night schools are crowded. One thousand men are crowding the educational classes of the Association in some of the cities. Professor Robinson, the scientific expert, has had a hearing from the President down. He will go to a city and have from 5,000 to 15,000 hearers in a week. He will lecture there on the wireless telegraphy, show the wonders of modern science, and tell of the only basis for modern government—a firm and enduring religion. We have introduced a department lecturing on Western agriculture, which is supported by the President. The Department on Constitutional Government and Education is receiving their support. I say the intellectual and educational work is appreciated. These things here are common, but there, they have a great message for the people. And take again the moral and religious idea; these young men fall into the cesspool of immorality and there is need of bringing in some new influence for moral uplift, without which a nation cannot survive, and China recognizes its need. I have often heard over here people say, "Well, why trouble those people. Their religion is good enough for them. I don't believe in Foreign Missions." Well, I took a few pictures. Here is one. It is the picture of a little Chinese slave girl who sold for \$20 on the streets. She was only five years old, and she was beaten so badly by her mistress that gangrene set in; her feet and her arms had to be amputated, her ear taken off; and her face is all scarred from the scalding water poured upon her. She was then thrown out, she was no longer worth \$20. What can she do now? She will be sold for a few cents to a life of prostitution.

What is her future? By the side of that little girl stands another, a little white child. Her mother laid down her life for China. Her father took an active part in China's development. There they stand side by side. The one rich, the other poor; the one a slave, the other free. And the free little girl has come to help the little slave girl. That is the epitome of foreign missions. You say it is good enough for them, but I ask you if it would be good enough for you or for me if it were my little girl or yours? To-day, while we sit here theorizing, in my own district in South India, a father is consecrating his little girl to a life of shame, because he does not know any better, because he has not been told any better. I believe in giving them a fair show and I say it would not be good enough for you or for me if it were my little girl or yours. The fourfold gospel of ours we take to them because it meets a physical need abroad. Half the world is poor. The average income to-day in India is \$10 a year. In my district the average is five cents a day. It was the proud boast of Lord Curzon that he was able to bring about an increase in wages from \$6 to \$7, not a week, but a year, and that is poverty. During the last century there was a famine that wiped out twenty cities in India and China; and as far as I can see they will be poor until we can give them a basis of education and morality. Half the world has not the chances of education, half the world cannot read or write, half the world is in a state of distress. I believe these people should be given a fair chance. They respond wonderfully. Take the last of those fourteen cities, the most conservative of all the fourteen. There, where those missionaries were torn limb from limb by the angry mob, this year I stood by their graves and then went up to the great hall, one hour before the meeting, and there were two thousand students packed in that hall, and almost that many more outside. We had an average of 5,000 hearers a day, students, officials, leaders of commerce. China is responding. I went to that city at the request of the thirteen Confucian officers of the Government College. The work was broad enough to commend itself to them. They postponed the government examinations for one week to co-operate with the meetings. We had a meeting for women students and 2,000 women came out to a lecture on wireless telegraphy, and then asked for a religious meeting such as the

men had, and came out in a larger number. That is new China. Everybody responds. The Board of Trade attended in a body and then joined the Y. M. C. A. It means to them a social, moral and religious growth. A nation cannot endure without a foundation. We have something they have not got, and if it can be put on a broad basis they want what we have to give. The Government are backing us. And we are a clearing house for young students and professors to supply the need of civil engineers, mechanical and electrical engineers. We have been offered sites for buildings, and money to equip them. This is because they realize the necessity for the education we give them and the new moral manhood we are helping to develop.

If you were to go across Asia and see the awakening of these plastic nations you would sympathize with what we are trying to do in giving them a chance for a new life. China, that great nation, is trembling in the balance. What is to be her future? Will it be a rear movement, back to her old idolatry, toward agnosticism and the consequent undermining of her whole moral structure, or shall it turn towards Christianity? I believe it depends upon us in the civilized and christian countries what shall be the future of China. If there is ever a yellow peril, it will be one of our own making. If we should deny them the best that we have, and if ever that great East, armed with all the engines of war, without the principles which guide our civilization with its moral and spiritual basis—if ever the East were to rise against us it would be a peril of our own making. But to-day the yellow peril is the golden opportunity of humanity—an opportunity that we can meet to-day. Let us help the Chinese nation in their development. It will be to our own commercial advantage if we do. With the introduction of Western methods, Western machinery, Western education, her trade will return to us ten times, one hundred times what we do for her and her people even in material things, and while we receive their material help in the growth of our trade, let us give them the best that we have for the new Republic of China.



[*December 2nd, 1913*]

## THE COMMERCIAL OUTLOOK OF CANADA

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BY SIR GEORGE PAISH

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WE in England take a great pride in Canada. We have great pride, and justly great, in Canada; but we also share that pride with you. You have been active in developing the resources of your great country. We too have been active in providing you with capital, or some of the capital, that you needed for the purpose. The difference between the condition of Canada to-day and what it was when I first came to Canada in 1899 is really remarkable. I came to Canada from the United States, and I arrived at the conclusion that Canada was a very jog-trot affair. That is not my impression to-day. Since 1899 Canada has entirely changed her character. No country in the world has made the progress that Canada has made in recent years. By whatever standard I measure, the great progress is evident—your population shows an increase in ten years of something like 50%. In England the rate of growth is 10% in ten years. If I measure it by wealth, the figures of which are difficult to obtain, the growth is even more remarkable than if measured by population. If I measure it by productive power it is still more remarkable. I find, when I look to your agriculture, in other words, your wealth production, the increase in ten years has been no less than 130%. In 1903, the quantity of grain produced in this country was 293,000,000 bushels, about an average crop. In the current year the production of grain in Canada is no less than 672,000,000 bushels. If I look to the exports of Canada the same story is told. I attach great importance to exports, because it is by this means that you are going to pay us our interest. And what do I find? In 1903 the value of exports

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was \$225,000,000. In the 12 months to September last they were no less than \$425,000,000, an increase of not quite 100%, but nearly. The same with your mineral production. You are not developing your minerals as fast as your agriculture. I hope you are going to develop them faster in the future. Nevertheless, the increase in a comparatively short time, 1901-12, has been from \$65,000,000 to \$133,000,000—a very large and satisfactory growth.

Naturally people are saying at this time, when we are taking stock of the world and of every country in it, "Yes, that is quite true; Canada has made this enormous and wonderful progress. But what of the future? What is going to happen?" Well, in my judgment, the productive power of Canada in the next decade will be even more remarkable than it has been in the past ten years. In recent years Canada has been laying the foundations for a great business. She has borrowed vast sums of money, mainly from the United Kingdom, and she has expended this money in preparing for a great expansion in her productive power. In the last ten years an unusually large proportion of the population of the country has been engaged in constructive work. In the next decade a greater part of your population will be engaged in productive work. In other words, you will bring into operation the great quantity of machinery that you have produced and constructed in recent years. I spoke of machinery. What do I mean by machinery? Your railways are a machine. In ten years you have increased your railway facilities tremendously. In 1915 you will have nearly doubled your railway mileage. I think the railway mileage in Canada in 1915 will be not very far short of 35,000 miles. By constructing these railways you have opened up to cultivation millions of acres of fertile land, and it is upon these lands that the work of the next ten years will be done. Naturally, a second question will be asked, "If it be true that the productive power of Canada will show the great increase which you anticipate, will the demand for the produce increase to the same extent?" I have no doubt that the demand for the produce of Canada will increase just as rapidly as the production. I want you to remember that England has to purchase from abroad almost the whole of the food for her growing population, and Germany is now in the same

position. I may interpolate here my opinion that the action of the British Government at the present time in trying to get more people on the land in England will not in any way diminish the quantity of food we shall require to buy from the rest of the world. England in recent years has grown wealthier in a degree never before reached. We are capable of consuming a much greater quantity of produce than we ever were before, relatively to the population. The action of the Government will no doubt have the effect of greatly increasing the vegetable and milk production of the country, but it will not in any way diminish the quantity of wheat and other things that we need to import from Canada; in fact, our imports will grow ever larger. Much the same condition exists in Germany. People wonder why Germany's foreign trade has grown in the way that it has done. It is for exactly the same reason that England's has—because the German people have to import all the food and the raw material they require to maintain their growing population. England reached the limit of her agricultural production some seventy or eighty years ago. From that time we have had to maintain the whole of our new population by imports. Twenty or thirty years ago Germany arrived at the same stage. Germany to-day imports the whole of her food supply, and Germany will no doubt require to import enormous quantities of food as the years pass, and I have no doubt that Canada will supply a large part of her demand.

In the past, as you know, the world has obtained a large part of the food it has required from the United States. It is evident, however, that the United States will not be in a position to supply the world with food in the future as it has in the past. The growth of population there will take care of nearly the whole of the increasing food production, although I think the increase of production there will be greater than it has recently been.

Therefore, you need have no fear about your ability to sell your produce in the world's markets. And there is no reason why, with the increase of production, you may not regard the future with confidence. The world is growing in wealth in a manner never before attained. I want you to think for a moment that our power to consume is governed entirely by the amount of wealth we produce per head of population. The increasing



production of all countries means the same thing as the purchasing power of all countries. The world's purchasing power in recent years has grown in a really remarkable manner. Think of your own railways, of your great C.P.R. What is it doing? It is handling its traffic in nearly twice the weight of trains than it did a few years ago. In other words, one man does a great deal more work in the time than he did a few years ago, and what applies to railways applies to the farms. By means of your motors you can break a great quantity of additional land per head of those engaged in this occupation. The same thing applies to your manufactures. The world's manufacturing industries are to-day conducted on a great scale. Automatic machines, electric appliances, all sorts of things make the labor of man more efficient, and this, as you know, has developed to a remarkable degree, particularly in the last sixteen years. This is, I think, the direct result of the great business depression that existed throughout the world during the nineties, when everyone had difficulty in making ends meet.

The result of this great increase in the world's production is a corresponding increase in wealth consumption. It explains the universal unrest felt throughout the world. In these days everyone wants to share, and why should they not? It means that if you increase the output of wealth you must consume it, or it will stand in your warehouses. The whole world, from one end to the other, is sharing in the increased well-being of the world. It does not matter where we go, this same spirit is abroad, and rightly. Every man ought to want to do better than before, and is demanding a share in the increasing wealth of the world. Therefore, we have in all countries, white, yellow or black, this same feeling of unrest and this movement forward. In other words, we are making speed and when we make speed we create a dust.

But indeed this is of great importance to Canada, because you have in Canada, in proportion to your population, increased your production, increased your activities, more than any other nation, and you have got to look to the world's increasing consuming power for your ability to sell your increasing production; and I have no doubt whatever that the world will be able to consume all the food, all the minerals and all the goods that

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you are able to produce, and that as a consequence the population of Canada will continue to expand.

Of course you are aware that just at the moment there is a little check to expansion. The check is due to the fact that the pace was too fast. The whole world has been wanting capital to a greater amount than they ever wanted it before; and, unfortunately, at the moment when the world wanted money most a war broke out in Europe which checked the supply. I am glad to say that that war is now a thing of the past, and that there are good signs that next year the continental nations of Europe will recover their confidence, and be willing once more to supply the world with the capital it needs for the increasing of production.

I am glad to say with especial pride here that England, during this period of lack of confidence on the Continent and elsewhere, has suffered from no lack of confidence. In the current year we shall have provided for the world a far greater amount of capital than we ever provided before. For the past eleven months of the year we have subscribed in London for capital the amount of no less than £223,000,000, roughly \$1,110,000,000. By the end of the year the amount will probably be something like £240,000,000 or even £250,000,000—a great sum for a small country to subscribe in a single year; and where has this capital gone? To every country that has needed it and could give us what we thought to be the security we required. In this scramble for capital Canada has been foremost. Canada has come to London this year for more capital than ever before. It may be due, perhaps, and is in some measure due, to the fact that some people in England who previously placed private capital here were not so willing to do so, having regard to the uncertainties of the international political situation. But the fact remains that as regards publicly issued capital we have found for Canada this year a sum of no less than £50,000,000, and by the end of the year the amount will be still greater. This is in comparison with average amounts of £40,000,000 a year of publicly subscribed capital for Canada in recent years. You, the Canadian people, have therefore no reason to complain of the existing situation as far as capital is concerned, because you have been treated in the London market with a degree of

favor which would not have been accorded to you had you not been Canada; had you not, in other words, have been our own kinsmen. We have looked to your needs first. It is true that some of your issues were taken by underwriters and the portion subscribed by the public themselves was small, but the investors came along, and I am informed that almost the whole of the capital that has been placed in the London market has now been safely taken by investors.

Possibly for a year or two matters will go slower. It is obvious that the world has over-spent on capital account in recent years. From the information I have received it is evident that the bankers of the world have lent a great deal of banking funds which in normal circumstances would have been provided by investors. The bankers' loans have now to be funded, and in London next year we expect to devote our attention to what may be termed the paying off of the world's debt, the funding of short time obligations. This means that the amount of the capital that will be available for entirely new works will be extremely small and that we shall devote our money, for the time being at any rate, to trying to finish the many important works that are in process of construction and which ought to be finished. This will in some degree affect the trade situation. Money has already been spent, banking money has been spent, and as it has been spent it cannot be spent again, and the money that will be subscribed by investors will merely take the place of bankers' loans.

The reaction in trade, which everyone is looking for, will, I am convinced, be quite small. Of course the extent of the reaction will depend upon a number of circumstances. If serious weakness is disclosed anywhere, why then the reaction will be somewhat graver. But as far as I can make out there are no real grounds for anticipating any seriousness. Of course there is a certain amount of uneasiness in regard to the South American countries. However, having regard to improved condition of international affairs in Europe, I believe the French money market will again be open to foreign investors and I am convinced that a very difficult time will be tided over without any serious consequences. Even as regards the immediate future there is no ground for pessimism.



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But there is another factor which we must take into consideration and that is that the world is still producing £100,000,000 gold annually. It is producing it at a time when probably the demand for gold will be smaller than it has been for some time past. Indeed, in the current year there has been a return of gold from some of the young countries. Brazil has sent to London the sum of £10,000,000 of gold this year. If trade is less, gold will accumulate in the international markets. We shall get, then, for a comparatively short interval, a condition of great ease, and then we shall start again to take an interest in new enterprises. According to the existing indications, the accumulation of gold in the international markets in the next two or three years will be greater than ever; and, as a result, everyone will again begin to feel confidence and go into things about which they are now dubious.

Therefore, as far as the people of Canada are concerned, they may look forward to the future with feelings of great confidence. During the next two years it is desirable for them to reduce their borrowings in order that we may be in a position to fund the debts that ought to be funded, but after a comparatively short time we shall again be in a position to lend as freely as ever, and when you look to the future and when you look beyond the next year or two no one can regard the outlook of this country without feelings of the greatest hope and confidence. I personally (and my views are shared, I think, by everyone who is well informed) feel that the future of Canada is brighter than that of any other country in the world, and that therefore you may get through the next year or two of relatively quiet times and know that when you have got through them you will then be able to go faster and more safely than you have ever done before.

[December 8, 1913]

## OUR ADJUNCT THEATRE

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By BERNARD K. SANDWELL

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THE name dramatic critic is a very hard one to call any man in a practical country such as this, and before a practical body such as the Canadian Club. A dramatic critic is supposed to be a particularly useless sort of individual. I cannot deny that I am a dramatic critic, but I do not boast about it. The standing of a dramatic critic is not a particularly glorious one in the journalistic profession, or with the public. I remember, a few years ago, meeting a very nice young man at His Majesty's Theatre who told me he had just been appointed to the staff of one of our dailies here, which I will not mention, in the capacity of dramatic critic. I congratulated him and went home and I did not see him nor hear from him for several weeks. I failed to see him again at the theatre, but one day I met him on the street. I said to him, "How are you? What have you been doing with yourself?" He said, "Oh, I am no longer a dramatic critic. I have been promoted. I am now the morgue and hospital reporter." And that is very much the standing a dramatic critic has with the public. We are regarded as a body of very useless persons who do not write anything, do not create anything; in short, do nothing worth mentioning. We are admitted to the theatre free where other people have to pay \$1.50 and \$2.00 for their seats, and sit through the show with frowning faces and then go away and write it up so that people with real money will stay away from the theatre. However, as your president has explained to you, I do not really make my living by such a useless vocation as that. I belong to the same honorable fraternity as the distinguished guest whom you entertained a few days ago. I have not yet attained to the dignity of a knighthood, but I am young.

## *Our Adjunct Theatre*

When I informed your committee that the subject upon which I should like to address this club to-day was "Our Adjunct Theatre," I rather expected that I should be reprimanded for trying to introduce politics upon this sacredly neutral territory. Nothing, of course, could have been further from my mind. I am not a British Columbia Premier, but a humble member of this club, only too willing to abide by its rules and regulations. Besides which, my views upon the naval question are entirely derived from that classic work of reference, "H. M. S. Pinafore," by Gilbert and Sullivan, and must therefore be already familiar to all of you. And it is a matter of almost complete indifference to me whether Sir Wilfrid Laurier or the Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden is at the head of the government of Canada, seeing that neither of these gentlemen has as yet, to my knowledge, done anything whatever, in his public capacity, to advance the interests of the dramatic art in this country, or has exhibited the slightest intention of doing so.

I say that I rather expected to be reprimanded for using in my title the word "adjunct," a word which divided the population of Canada into two opposing camps a couple of years or so ago; and I was prepared with a lengthy argument to prove to your committee that the word "adjunct," whether invented by Mr. Taft or not, was the sole word which any sane and intelligent observer could possibly apply to the Canadian theatre after a careful study of its present condition. But I had underestimated the intelligence of your committee. The committee did not raise any objections to my title, evidently realizing—and very rightly—that there could be no possible connection between politics and the theatre, seeing that no politician in Canada has ever thought the theatre sufficiently important to pay the slightest attention to it. Nor are the politicians alone in not paying any attention to the theatre. If I am not very much mistaken, this is the first time that the Canadian Club of Montreal has ever paid any attention to the theatre. The invitation to address you was exceedingly welcome to me, not on my own account but on account of the art which I have the honor to represent before you to-day, because I take it that your invitation represents a change in the attitude of the Canadian Clubs and the Canadian people towards the art of the theatre, that art



which the typical Canadian for many years denounced as immoral, which he then despised as immaterial, and which he is finally beginning to recognize as immortal and of enormous importance and influence. I believe that I am right in saying that up to a few months ago no Canadian Club had ever wasted its precious time upon the discussion of any subject directly relating to the stage. I went through the records of the proceedings of the various Canadian Clubs with considerable care not long ago, and it was tantamount to going through the history of the current Canadian thought of the period; but it was plain to me that current Canadian thought had not begun to concern itself with the stage. In August, however, the Convention of Canadian Clubs, meeting at Hamilton, listened to papers discussing the position of various branches of art in this Dominion, on which occasion it fell to me to shed the necessary tears over the condition of the Canadian theatre. And since then, Mr. F. R. Benson has addressed one or two Canadian Clubs in connection with the work of the Memorial Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon. Mr. Benson, moreover, received an honorary degree from McGill University, which is quite the most official endorsement that has ever been extended to the art of the theatre by any learned or public body in this Dominion; for I do not think that the annual pilgrimages of the undergraduate body of McGill to His Majesty's or the Princess can in any way be regarded as tributes to the histrionic muses. Now that this club has consented to listen for a few moments to an account of the woes and sufferings of the Canadian theatre, I could devoutly wish that a more eloquent tongue than mine could be employed for the task of description. The position is actually so extraordinary that it would require the satirical genius of a Bernard Shaw to do it justice. In the realm of the theatre, a realm in which a vast and ever-increasing number of Canadians acquire a large part of their ideas and opinions, this Dominion of Canada, this nation in the making, is absolutely dependent upon the adjacent republic. We are permitted, it is true, to build our own theatres, but we have nothing to say whatever about the performances which shall be given in them. The shows are booked for us by a group of gentlemen—two groups of gentlemen—to be perfectly accurate—in the city of New York. To

those gentlemen, Montreal is exactly the same as Minneapolis or Monongahela or Manistee. It is a part of their territory, and must be used to keep their shows going long enough to repay the cost of production. It does not matter whether those shows have any special appeal for the people of Montreal or not. The people of Minneapolis are not supposed to have any particular tastes of their own; they are expected to take what New York gives them and be grateful; why should the people of Montreal demand anything different?

I was in the office of one of these groups of gentlemen in New York not long ago, and was shown the immense map of North America on which the routes of travelling shows are plotted and I was very much interested in it. It was an enormous map, with a dot for every theatre on the continent, and circles of various sizes for the various large cities, and every railway line of importance was most accurately indicated. There was just one thing that was not indicated; I looked very closely for it, but so far as I could see it was not there; and that one thing was the boundary line between the United States and Canada.

Now I want you to consider what is the nature of the theatrical pabulum supplied by New York for the consumption of Minneapolis and Monongahela and Manistee, and consider whether it is a fit and proper pabulum for Montreal. It consists, of course, of a number of different kinds of items. A small proportion of it is made up of English shows—English plays produced and presented by English actors and managers, but considered to be of sufficient international interest to be suitable to Minneapolis, Monongahela, etc. To these we in Montreal can have no possible objection; we ought rather to be thankful to the American theatre-going public for combining with us to provide the necessary support to bring them across the Atlantic. There are at present in New York, for example, Sir Johnstone Forbes-Robertson and Mr. Cyril Maude, each with a repertoire of his own productions. American booking agents have already sent us one of these eminent actors, and will shortly send us the other, and we are duly grateful. I do not think we ought to admit, however, that we are wholly dependent on New York's intervention even for artists like these. English players and companies of almost, if not quite the same importance, have

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repeatedly toured in South Africa and Australia, without the assistance of any American money or American enterprise. Canada is much nearer to England than either of those countries, and could, I believe, successfully bid for occasional visits from the best artists in England, even if the United States did not exist.

However, to return to the make-up of the theatrical bill-of-fare as arranged by the New York chefs for the consumption of Minneapolis, Montreal and the rest of the places on the big map without any boundary lines. The vast majority of the shows booked to circulate in North America at the sweet will of the two groups of gentlemen in New York are shows produced in New York. All of the shows produced in New York are shows manufactured to suit purely American tastes, just as the shows imported by New York are imported purely with a view to American tastes. A few of them are foreign pieces adapted by Americans, and usually Americanized out of all recognition in the process. Most of them are entirely American, from the ground up. I am thankful to say that for the moment they are not very jingoistic, so that we are not afflicted with the flood of heroic rough-riders and torpedo-boat lieutenants and spruce old admirals who used to wave the stars and stripes (a very noble and beautiful flag, but not our flag) all over our theatres for years during and after the Spanish War. They have disappeared. But that is only because the American public has momentarily lost interest in the army and navy and become absorbed in the disorderly house. Of the two subjects, I am not sure that I do not prefer the army and navy.

Most of these American plays are not very good plays. They are improving, and, considering that fifteen years ago there were no American plays worth mentioning, it is really surprising that they are not worse. But very few of them would ever interest a German audience, or a French audience, or a Russian audience, and very few of them do interest English audiences, although plenty of them have been produced in London. But I do not want to take up your time abusing the American drama, because, as I have said, it is really pretty good, considering its youth and upbringing, and because I have plenty of chance to abuse it in print every other Tuesday. It may even be a good thing for us



that American plays are bad, for the worse they are, the less they will appeal to us Canadians, and the safer we are from becoming reconciled to the American domination of our stage. For after all, my whole charge against the present control of our Canadian theatres is that it is not Canadian, and not even British, but absolutely foreign and alien. The situation is without a parallel in history. You may look in vain in a country such as Poland, occupied and administered by an alien conqueror, for any such foreign domination of the Polish stage as exists in Canada, although Canada has not been even invaded for the last hundred years, to say nothing of being conquered. Such a situation could only have come about by a gradual process—have stolen upon us, as it were, unawares. As a matter of fact, it is a product of very recent years and we have scarcely had time to realize that it exists. The rise of the theatrical trusts which operate through the New York booking offices—the complete centralization of the theatrical business of the entire continent is on Broadway—is only a matter of ten or fifteen years. The older members of this club will have no difficulty in remembering when the theatrical entertainment of Montreal was provided largely by permanent local companies, occasionally assisted by travelling stars; and for a good many years, even after the development of the travelling-company system, the local manager was pretty free to pick his attractions according to his fancy. But in those days it would not have mattered greatly even if the Canadian stage had been subject to American control; for the American stage itself was a mere reflection of the English. American plays were few and far between, and were close copies of English or European models. London successes were promptly and cheerfully pirated as soon as they were produced, and formed the bulk of the offerings of the American theatre; and if Canada was theatrically a province of the United States, the United States was just as truly a province of London.

All that is changed now. The American theatre has become violently and protestatiously a national institution, even more so than the American magazine. The American theatre-goer, long trained by his newspapers to regard the ward politics of his own city and the behavior of his own police force as vastly more important than the Balkan War or the fate of the dynasty of

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Portugal, demands plays in which he can recognize his own grafting aldermen, his own brutal detectives, his own odoriferous garbage collectors, and his own unspeakable cadets. He is profoundly absorbed in a matter which is not at present causing any great excitement among Canadians; namely, the apparent failure of the republican form of government to make everybody rich and happy; and on account of that failure he is tremendously busy reconstructing his universe by means of initiatives, referendums, recalls, commission governments, white slave acts, trust prosecutions, merger dissolutions, and an occasional dynamiting or lynching party on the side. He wants his dramatists to give him pointers about these things, and show him how the reconstruction is to be done, just as his novelists and his newspapers and his magazines do. And the consequence is that we get trust plays and white slave plays and civic corruption plays and divorce plays and detective plays and color-question plays and labor plays—all of which are of the least possible interest to Canadians, because we Canadians are not engaged in reconstructing the universe and do not suffer from the defects of the United States Constitution, and do not believe that vice and corruption can be abolished even by the initiative, referendum and recall. These brutal detectives are not our detectives; these garbage collectors are not our garbage collectors; our aldermen, if they did graft, which of course they do not, would do it in a much more human and less scientific and standardized sort of way. In a word, these plays are not our plays and do not satisfy our desire for dramatic entertainment.

But these American playwrights are excluding from the American theatres, and therefore from the Canadian theatres, nearly all of the best work of the English and European stage. We in Montreal have seen but one play out of the last fifteen years' work of Sir J. M. Barrie, less than half of the later plays of Sir A. W. Pinero; nothing, or practically nothing, of Sudermann, Hauptmann, Strindberg, Schnitzler and Tchekhof. But for the enterprise of a few Montrealers in bringing out direct from England the Manchester Repertory Company, we should have seen nothing of the best modern English playwrights, including Galsworthy, Arnold Bennett, Masefield and Stanley Houghton. It is not altogether a question of the artistic merits

of these writers as compared with the Charles Kleins and the George Cohans and the Eugene Walteres of America. There are other considerations, too. There are good reasons why Canadians should familiarize themselves with the social conditions and problems of Great Britain, and there is no better way of doing it than by the serious British drama. Great Britain is the predominant partner in that Empire to which we all belong—a partnership which few of us want to break and which many of us would like to see drawn even closer than it is to-day. It is possible that at no distant date we may have quite a lot to say about the running of the Empire; and we cannot understand the Empire without understanding the people of the British Isles and their conditions and problems. The British drama is the drama of our own people, of our brothers and fellow subjects. The American drama is an alien drama, of no more direct interest to us than the drama of France or Germany or Norway or Japan, and a great deal less meritorious than any of them.

Even under American control, we do get, as I have admitted, a certain portion of the current theatrical fare of Great Britain—that portion only which is considered suitable for American consumption. Of the British drama of a specifically national or patriotic type we naturally get nothing whatever. Take, for example, the case of a notable play by our old friend, Mr. Louis N. Parker, the author of "Joseph and His Brethren." This playwright's drama of "Drake" was produced a year or so ago at Sir Herbert Tree's theatre in London. I do not know what its artistic merits are, but there is no doubt that it is an inspiring picture of the spirit of maritime enterprise and daring which is associated with the name of England's great admiral; and as such it should be of the highest value in a young country like ours which is just beginning to feel its responsibilities upon the seas. It will doubtless be performed, if it has not already been performed, in South Africa and Australia, both of which countries control their own stage. But there is not the slightest prospect of its being brought to Canada under existing conditions, for it would not interest the Americans in any way, and for theatrical purposes we are Americans.

This is not the first time that I have had to shed oratorical or printed tears over the American occupation of our stage. It



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is rather a favorite lament of mine; and I am sometimes answered by the claim that it cannot possibly matter, because art is an international affair anyhow, and our Canadian mentality is sufficiently close to the American to make our theatrical tastes very similar. Some day, when you have three or four hours to spare, I should like to argue that point with you; but in the meanwhile I will only say that most of the people who talk in that way are people whose idea of theatrical entertainment is what we in the journalistic profession technically term a leg-show. There is, I will admit, a certain international quality about legs which makes it immaterial whether they come from New York or London or Paris; but are they art?

I have not much time, either, to discuss with you the means by which we may in time emancipate ourselves from our position as a theatrical adjunct of the neighboring republic. That is a secondary matter. When once Canada awakens to the fact that the present situation is an anomaly, she will not be long in taking steps to amend it. There are two chief methods for bringing about our theatrical declaration of independence—two methods belonging respectively to the two different systems of theatrical organization. Under the centralized system we must continue for some time to depend upon a producing centre outside of Canada, for we are not a very populous or wealthy country. Under that system we can, if we like, make London our centre to a much greater degree than New York. The centralized system has been the only system in operation on this continent or in England for a decade and more. But there is now arising both in England and in the United States another system, a much older system come to life again, which seems destined henceforth to share the field with the centralized system. This is the localized system, the system of strong permanent companies established in their own theatres in every city capable of supporting them, and producing in that city the plays which they find that city wants. We have already seen, in the case of the Manchester and Dublin companies, something of the work that can be done by such organizations. The establishment of such companies in three or four of the leading Canadian cities would give a foundation for the true Canadian theatre, such as it could not secure in any other way. I hope to see something done in

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both these directions within a few years; and I think that I have said enough to convince you that any reasonable and intelligent movement in either direction is worthy of the support of Canadians. I do not suggest that you hand over your money without inquiry to anybody who says that he is founding a Canadian repertory theatre or is booking English companies for an all-Canadian tour. Even the best of gospels may have its false prophets, as well as its true ones, and it takes certain very high qualifications to organize either a repertory theatre or a booking agency. But when the right man comes along, as he will in the near future, lend him a hand. We have allowed ourselves to get into a position which is not becoming to us as a self-governing community and a member of the British sisterhood of nations. Let us get out of it, and see that the 49th parallel is re-established on the theatrical map of North America.

[December 22nd, 1913]

## CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

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By HON. W. T. WHITE

Minister of Finance

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**M**R. President:—I should indeed be wanting in courtesy if I failed, at the outset, to acknowledge my deep sense of gratitude for the very complimentary terms in which you have referred to myself, and for the warm and cordial reception accorded to me here. I realize that this is Christmas week and that you must be all crowded with your engagements, and yet I find in this representative assembly the leading men of the financial, commercial, professional and religious life of this great metropolis. Under any circumstances I should feel greatly honored by your attendance, but especially so upon this occasion and under these conditions.

I do not feel myself a stranger in Montreal. For many years I had an office here and made an extensive social and business acquaintance. I learned in that time to appreciate something of the ability, energy, the fine initiative and splendid courage of your leaders in the great business world, and something also of the strength and worth and solidity of the great institutions which they have built up and which have shed a lustre on the name of Canada throughout the world.

Now, Mr. President, the making of an engagement to speak before a Canadian Club is something like signing a promissory note. Both are usually done with a light heart. But the time comes with regard to the promissory note when you must either pay or renew, or your note will go to protest, and that would never do for a Finance Minister in these days of financial stringency; and so with your engagement. You may get a postponement once or twice, but the time comes when you must and should pay. It occurred to me, as this was the first occasion



upon which I was to address a Canadian Club, that it might be fitting that I should choose as my subject, "Canadian Citizenship;" the Canadian Club of Montreal, like other Canadian Clubs, having been established for the purpose of elevating the standard of our citizenship.

Now let me say that I have no intention of dealing exhaustively with this subject. Even if I had the ability, and I have not, to deal exhaustively with it, I should not have the time, so I propose to use a broad brush, to employ the impressionist method and let you fill in the details.

To appreciate Canadian citizenship one must realize its environment and the conditions and forces surrounding and acting upon it. I propose, therefore, briefly to consider the physical, the intellectual, the moral and the political basis upon which it rests and by which its character is largely determined. We have a sparse population in Canada, a small population as compared with the other great nations, and on that account I sometimes think that we do not realize the vastness of the country of which we are citizens. The Dominion of Canada, in area, is equal to Europe, greater than the United States, and quite as great in possibilities as the latter. We have a population of nine millions and they have a population of nearly one hundred millions, and the time will come, not in your time or in my time, but in the time of our children or our children's children, when Canada will have the population that the United States has to-day. Such is the vast area in which our destiny is cast. We have every variety of soil, and our climate is the best of all the climates of the world. We are the men of the Northern zone, and the Northern climate inclines men to physical exertion. We will, therefore, be an active, virile people by reason of the climate and its effect upon us. We have natural resources among the greatest in the world—all those natural resources that make a country great and prosperous and powerful. We have rich fisheries, unlimited timber limits, if we have sense enough as a nation to conserve them. We have vast mining areas, and I am gratified to be able to state that our mineral production is constantly increasing. We have immense stretches of agricultural land. Such is Canada on the physical side, penetrated by a waterway of nearly 2,000 miles, stretching half way across the

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continent. Then take our situation on this hemisphere. I often look at the globe (not the *Globe* newspaper, of course) and it seems to me that if you look at the American continent, north and south, it is the very backbone of the world. We have Europe to the East; Asia to the West (and I leave to your imagination what the future holds for Asia) and we have the United States on the South. This Continent has been aptly described as the Half-Way House of the World. This is a very significant description. Such, I say, is the area in which our destiny is cast, the heritage which we have for development and for our use.

Now, as to our people. For the main part they are of Anglo-Saxon stock. Here in the Province of Quebec you have a majority of that splendid and gallant French race who laid the foundation of this great country. We have an immigration from all parts of Europe, from the United States, immigrants of all nations, coming into this country at the rate of one thousand or twelve hundred a day, to cast their lot with Canada. Now, so far as our citizenship is concerned, this latter fact ought to make for toleration. A nation that is purely homogeneous, occupying a territory to itself, is very apt to become somewhat intolerant of those whose customs and habits differ from their own. By reason of the mixture of population, the variety of races which we have in our country, we have learned and must continue to learn the great lesson of toleration. Let us tolerate and respect our differences and let us seek the good that is in each and all of our fellow citizens. And while I am speaking of this, let me speak also of sectionalism. We have four divisions in Canada and there is of course more or less sectionalism. The cure for sectionalism is greater knowledge of all on the part of each. I look on all the Provinces of confederation as the children of confederation, all entitled to equal consideration, one not more than the other. It seems to me that if we are to be a happy family that that is the only way to look at the matter. Therefore, the point that I make, having regard to the mixture of races in this country, is that Canadian citizenship is tolerant and will continue to be increasingly tolerant, not only of differences of language, of race, of creed, but also of sectional points of view. As a matter of fact, our sectional

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differences will largely disappear as the country fills up and we shall reach that national solidarity which the founders of confederation had in view.

We are in the constructive age of Canada. It is a fact that at different periods the energies of a people flow into different channels. At the present time, and for many years back, we have been engaged in the gigantic task of subjugating half a continent. It has taken the United States one hundred years to accomplish what she has done. The Canadian people are engaged in tilling the soil, opening the mines, cutting timber, developing fisheries, and solving the great problems of transportation—ever since Confederation the most vital and important problem in Canadian development. And what has been the result? The energy of the people having been directed into this material channel, and necessarily so, we have men of great enterprise in the business world. I am happy to say here that the building of the three lines across this country has been one of the greatest feats ever attempted by any nation. It gives me particular pleasure here to pay my tribute to the energy, capacity, vision and imagination of those great men of Montreal who carried through the building of the C. P. R. The character of our Canadian citizenship on the material side is practical, enterprising, virile and sagacious. We have a capable and enterprising people, and those qualities will remain with us, I think, for all time of course, but in a very marked and large measure during this constructive period in our growth. I am happy to say, because I would not like to leave the matter there, that in Canada we have given attention not only to material things. We have not neglected the things of the mind and the things of the spirit. Among the great glories of the Canadian people is their devotion to the ideals of education. I think nothing has struck me more in reading, as I have often read, the history of the building up of these provinces, than the intense desire of the newly arrived immigrant that his children should have the advantages denied him in an older land—the advantages of education, of light, understanding, knowledge, in so far as they can be given by education. Our common schools, our collegiate institutes, our great universities, hand in hand with



the material development, have been building up an educational system that we regard with pride. We have the Dalhousie University, the University of New Brunswick, Laval, McGill and Toronto. Out West, in those Provinces only recently settled, we have the Universities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia. Not very long ago I was at a Canadian Club gathering and the gentleman who was speaking had been giving statistics, intensely interesting and illustrating the subject he was dealing with. He happened to mention the progress that had been made with regard to higher education. I sought the speaker after the function, shook hands with him, and he said to me, "You were no doubt interested in the figures." I said, "Not at all. I think a Finance Minister should not understand more than five or six figures at the outside. But what I was interested in was your talk about higher education." There is no danger of our neglecting the material side, but there may be the danger of our neglecting the spiritual and educational side.

So I say in this country we have not neglected the things of the mind. We have not as yet produced great creations in art or in literature, but we have made a very creditable showing. The fact that we have not produced any great masterpieces in those departments is not due to any lack of taste or genius, but solely on account of conditions, because it is a fact that great art and literature are productions which come forth in a period of tranquility succeeding a period of stress and struggle and conflict, and in Canada we have not had that experience as yet. It would appear as if the force which is employed at the time of stress, in the succeeding period of tranquility spends itself in productions of art and literature. Now, as I said before, the conditions are not favorable in Canada for great literary or artistic productions. It is often said—happy is that nation which has no history. Which means that in that case there have been no wars, no great conflicts. Happy has been that nation, too, then, that has no great productions of art or literature, which follow upon wars and conflict—in which the soul of a nation is shaken to its depths. Our nation, like other nations, may encounter its share of these experiences, and we shall then have our masterpieces of art and literature.

So far as science is concerned, we have accomplished much, because science is practical. Our universities have done a splendid work in science and I do not believe we realize what we owe them, not only in developing this brand of education, but from the practical standpoint of contributing to the material prosperity of the country.

With regard to the moral basis of our citizenship we have all over Canada thousands of churches pointing their spires heavenward. Those churches and our great hospitals and philanthropic institutions attest the devotion of the people of Canada to the ideals of religion.

It is not wise to deal in generalities. Sometimes a nation is judged by special features of its city life. One should judge France, according to some people, by Paris. I say no. England should not be judged by the slums of London; the United States by New York's Great White Way. If you want to know the character of the people, go to the homes of the masses. I have a great respect—I think a respect founded upon reason—for the character and morality of the Canadian people as a whole.

I propose to touch briefly upon our political institutions. As you know, we have in this country representative government. Freedom is the very breath of life to all English-speaking people. It is not necessary for me to enlarge upon this. We have the advantage of the British Constitutional System. The British Constitution is not a fixed, unchanging system tacked onto our national life. It has been a gradual outgrowth, keeping pace with the life and needs and requirements of the people. It has not come to a full stop. It will keep on developing in the future as it has in the past. I do not perplex myself, therefore, as to what is going to happen in the future. I am perfectly confident that in the British Empire the ability of its statesmen will always be equal to its needs. The Constitution will adjust itself to any developments in the Empire, to any changes that may take place at the center or in the outlying parts. When I was a boy at the University, we used to discuss Canada's destiny, whether she should continue in the Empire or be independent, or join with the United States. But since I

have grown up I no longer perplex myself with these theoretical questions. I believe that there are great forces underlying the life of a nation, forces altogether beyond the volition or power of man, that these determine the destiny of a country and the destiny of an Empire, and that it is better to leave this in the hands of a higher power. We cannot forecast the future, but I would just like to say this, that just as the tendency in the business world to-day is towards consolidation, so the tendency of nations is also towards consolidation. The ties drawing the Empire together are stronger to-day than they were forty years ago at the time of Confederation. The whole tendency of the Empire is towards consolidation, not disintegration. Therefore, I do not vex myself with speculations as to the future, because I know that great underlying forces will determine it, and I know that the British Constitution is flexible enough to adjust itself to the changing requirements of the Empire, as it always has in the past.

As I said in my opening remarks, I have used a broad brush, employed the impressionist method. I have dealt with our Canadian citizenship from the material, the intellectual, the political and moral standpoint. How shall we judge of our citizenship? By what standard shall it be tested? I think by no other standard than the standard by which we test a man. How should we test a man? Certainly not by his possessions, no matter how rich he may be, and not by his achievements, no matter how great they may be. We test a man in the last analysis by his personal worth and integrity. Now, this is the way we should judge a nation. This is the supreme test, because the entire result of history, as I read it, is this: That the greatness of a nation must depend not upon its material and intellectual achievements, no matter how great they may be, nor upon its possession of territory or resources, but must rest upon the morality and the character of its citizenship. That is the standard by which we must test the citizenship of Canada.



[January 5th, 1914]

## THE CIVIC CRISIS

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By HUNTLEY DRUMMOND.

President of the Board of Trade.

AND OTHER SPEAKERS.

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**J**UST how near we came to a disaster during the past eight days, during which the city was without water owing to the breaking of the conduit, we will never know. But it does not need a man with a very great imagination to see that we were hovering on the brink of a stupendous disaster. Whatever it was that saved us, it is now up to us to try and see that such a thing does not happen again.

Now, there is not much time, gentlemen, in a short speech, to go very fully into matters, but I say that there are three things that we still want. We still want an alternative water supply at the earliest possible moment. We are hanging on a thread.

We want, secondly, an investigation and we want the punishment of those parties who have brought this upon us.

We want, thirdly, a committee of experts to examine into the whole plan and the whole system of the workings of the water department of Montreal and report on it, so that we will know where we stand.

There was nothing that any man might not have foreseen in what has happened to us; on the contrary, I state, and I believe I am within the bounds of truth in stating, that such occurrences as these are the inevitable result of the sort of government we have had in Montreal.

Given any city or any business which is conducted with the carelessness, with the ignorance and with the laxity that prevails in Montreal it does not need a wise man to prophesy that the result will inevitably be disaster. This scandal about the water-

works is merely a sign of what is going on in the whole civic government. I believe there are other things just as bad as this but which have not been brought home quite so forcibly. There are many signs and symptoms of disease in the whole body of politics. What is the cause, what is the real root of this disease we are suffering under in Montreal? Well, there are two ways of answering that. There is the hard way and the difficult way, and the easy way and the pleasant way. The easy way is the way we have all pursued up to this time, that is, to lay the blame on somebody else and sit back and do nothing. Now you can see the results we have got from that policy. In Montreal we are a critical lot—there is more time spent in useless criticism than in any city that I ever knew of; we are always criticizing the aldermen, criticizing the controllers, and very seldom do we ever do anything ourselves. Now supposing we take the other course, gentlemen. I say this—I say it deliberately—the blame for the present condition of Montreal lies squarely on our shoulders. Every man in this room and every citizen is equally responsible for the kind of government we have had, and that is a responsibility that we cannot dodge any longer. Put it in another way: we have got about the kind of government in Montreal that we deserve. Now, I notice there is not much applause to that. I told you it was not popular, but I am going to tell you what I believe to be the truth. Unless, gentlemen, we get down ourselves, each man here, and actively do some work, things will go on as they have in the past. Now let me say one or two other things about the difficulties that lie in the way of a reform movement. Now, firstly, any movement that is inaugurated must be kept free from two things—race feeling and party feeling. Two-thirds of the population in this city is French, roughly, and one-third is English. The French people have exactly the same aims and objects as the English people—it is just as much in their interest to have good government as it is to the interest of the English people to have good government, and unless both races get together on this thing, unless both unitedly try for better government, then our efforts will be absolutely wasted. Now, it is the same with party. We have a platform of good government that is big enough to take on Liberals and Conservatives.

Now, there is one other point. We are all in this room men of some leisure; but do not forget this, gentlemen, that the question of good government is more important to the working men than it is to us. If we have to pay an increase in taxation it is a comparatively small matter; to the working men it is a matter of life and death, actually, to have a good, clean sanitary and economically run city. Therefore, if any movement is inaugurated here do not forget this point—you have got to get out and get the support of the working man; he is really more vitally interested in it than you are; but he needs to be shown the advantages. It is up to the reformers to do this or their crusade amounts to nothing.

Now, one word and I am done. The condition of affairs, you will admit, we will all admit, we know it, is wrong. Is it possible to have reform again that will bring order out of the chaos which prevails in this city at present? I believe that if every one here present will devote a tithe of the energy he gives to his own personal business to the helping of a reform movement, we will surely see a vast improvement here. Remember this, and I bring it down to what I call the lowest possible term—good government pays! There are other things that are more important, but it actually pays us in dollars and cents to have good government. Now, I believe we can have it, and I believe that if we do make one united effort we shall see Montreal in her rightful position as the first city in the Dominion of Canada, not only in her enterprises, but in Good Government.

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After Dr. F. J. Shepherd, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of McGill University, had put in a strong plea not only for a stable water supply, but for the thorough cleansing of the city, the meeting was addressed by Mr. A. R. McMaster, K.C., President of the Volunteer Electoral League. Mr. McMaster said:

We are all, I think, quite convinced that things are not as they should be, but let me just emphasize this point—it won't be by doing away with the City Council—it won't be by doing away with this or that part of the government that reform is going to be brought about. Reform is not going to come from the top but



from the bottom. The whole thing comes down to the individual citizen, whether he is a proprietor, or tenant, or anybody else. Now, if he takes an interest in Montreal, Montreal is going to be well governed. If he will not take an interest, Montreal is not going to be well governed. How many of you know the names of the thirty-one aldermen whom you elect every year to represent this city in the City Council? Do not all speak at once, as a gentleman at my right has just said. We have got to have not only public interest on the part of the citizens at large, but an excess of public interest on the part of those men whom the prosperity and growth of Montreal has made so rich that they can easily afford to stop making money for themselves for a few years and devote themselves to the interests of Montreal. I can just say this to them, that of a surety when they come to die they will not take their wealth with them and that to leave large fortunes to their children is a doubtful benefit. They will have to do this, and some of them are not so far away but that they can hear what I am saying. It won't be sufficient for them to be leaders of this society or of that society; what they have got to do is to make the requisite sacrifice to go on the actual government representative institution of the commonwealth. I think I can say this, that if these men will present themselves for election, the honest citizens of Montreal, who are in the vast majority, will see to it that they are elected. That is what we require. It is the machine that is so badly organized. It is not such a bad machine. We have got the City Council, the Board of Control, and when you consider the difficulties they have been up against they have done well. If we will back them up, rather than oppose them, we will get good government. Now, gentlemen, how can we? Well, the Volunteer Electoral League has suggested a way. First of all, we do not attempt to choose the candidates ourselves, but we will co-operate in the choosing of candidates with any other body. Second, we will assist in a campaign of education. We have got to go to the east, to the north, to the south and to the west—get to the people—to the working men, and tell them what we propose to do. I met a man in the East End, a man not very well thought of by some of us, and he said he was going to address four or five working men's meetings that night—he was going to the people.

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Every one of you who is prepared to do so, and to give some of your time, should join the Volunteer Electoral League. I hope you will all join. There is no reason why you should not all join—just simply hand in your name to Mr. Lyman. Employers of labor should give in the names of any young men in their offices who will work in this campaign of education and will give the League the first call on their services one day out of every four years for the City of Montreal. We ask you to give him that day to come out even if business is booming and even if you lose \$20 by his absence from business. That is my suggestion. We want to try and get 1000 young men in Montreal to say that they will help us along in our work of education for our civic benefit along constitutional lines. And we want to get the best men we can for the positions. Several here are suited for the purpose, and it is their duty to stop for a few months or years the accumulation of still greater wealth and come down into the arena and fight to give us a better Montreal.

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Mr. C. B. Gordon, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, then addressed the meeting. Beginning with a reference to the Parks Commission, he pointed out that that admirable and progressive measure was still held up by the negligence of the City Council to provide funds for its operation. After strongly supporting the plea for more representative men, and those from among the busiest, to take active personal part in civic politics, he concluded:

Many of the big men are ready to do it, but it requires a wide movement of education; and it is our own fault, as Mr. McMaster said, if we do not do it. We must get in a lot of men to represent the city in some of the important positions which are open to all citizens who will give their time to service. If they will present themselves, and give the time, I believe there is no question about their election. The working men of Montreal—the people working in the factories and the mills—these are the people who are more interested today in good government than any of us, because they are in the city all the time. We can afford to get away for a holiday to the country in the summer or whenever

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we feel like it, but the poor people have to depend on this city for their life, have to live here all the year around and cannot afford to leave it when they feel like it; and the conditions are simply disgraceful. We have every natural advantage, and with a little work on the part of a few of our leading citizens we can make Montreal one of the greatest cities in the Dominion—one of the most beautiful cities in the world.



[February 9, 1914]

## THE BUILDING OF A BATTLESHIP

By H. B. AMES, M.P.

THE battleship is the premier unit of every sea-fighting force," said Admiral Henderson, and as such we are now to consider how she is constructed. There is no more complicated mechanism of modern times, for the best brains, unlimited money and the highest technical skill have been brought to bear upon her production.

During the month of September last, I was privileged to visit most of the British shipyards, public and private, where the fifteen capital ships to-day being constructed for the British Navy were to be found. What was there seen I will endeavour to describe, with the assistance of views and diagrams, for the most part freely given by the shipbuilding firms.

The plans for a battleship come, in the first instance, from the Admiralty. Each successive year there is designed a type of ship which is expected to surpass any of its predecessors. A certain number of ships of a given type are generally ordered according to the Parliamentary programme of that year. When finally afloat, the numbers of the group are known after the name of the class ship, usually the first to be constructed in a Government Naval Yard at Portsmouth or Devonport.

In battleship design there are seven main points to be considered:—

- 1st. Striking power, since the battleship, after all, is but a floating fort.
- 2nd. Protection, especially of the vital parts.
- 3rd. Speed, for manoeuvring.
- 4th. Fuel storage, which determines the area of operations.
- 5th. Ammunition endurance.
- 5th. Good quarters for the crew; and
- Finally. Sea-going qualities.

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To quote Admiral Henderson again, "The battleship expresses a scientific compromise on these seven points."

After the design has been prepared by the Admiralty it is transmitted to the builder. In the mould loft, connected with the shipyard, the arrangement of the plates and angles is laid off, the heavy castings are planned and, in imagination, the ship is built. From this room the patterns go forth to be copied in iron or steel in one of the many workshops.

The building of a battleship falls naturally into two parts: the work performed prior to launching while the vessel is on the slip and that carried on while she lies in the deep water berth alongside the quay.

Although there are some firms in Great Britain which can build and equip a battleship by their own unaided activities, it often happens that there are at least four main contracts given out by the Admiralty in connection with this construction. These cover:—

- (a) The hull,
- (b) The boilers and engines,
- (c) The armour and
- (d) The guns and gun-mountings.

Through the kindness of Messrs. Vickers, of Barrow-in-Furness, I was presented with a set of illustrations of the Japanese Battle Cruiser "Kongo," commissioned in August last. In attempting, therefore, to describe the construction of a battleship, we will, in imagination, follow this vessel through her various stages. The "Kongo" is one of the most powerful battle cruisers afloat, with a displacement of 27,500 tons. She is 704 feet long, 92 feet beam and 27 ½ feet draught. She carries a primary armament, eight 14-inch guns, and has a secondary armament of sixteen 6-inch guns. She has also eight submerged torpedo tubes. She is protected by a belt of Krupp steel, 10 inches in thickness, and her heavy gun positions have armour of the same weight. Her engines are capable of developing 70,000 horse power, and on her trials she reached a speed of thirty miles an hour. The "Kongo" cost \$12,400,000 and carries a complement of 1,100 men. Such a vessel is the one we now propose to examine.

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For some time after the order for the building of a battleship has been given out, there is little or no apparent activity on the part of the shipyard people. Many contracts require to be placed and much material collected. The patterns must be prepared and it is some months before visible operations actually begin. The shipyard itself usually consists of three parts. There is the slip, the deep water berth with numberless workshops and, hard by, a dry dock. A thoroughly modern shipyard completed as above costs in the neighbourhood of \$7,500,000. The Vickers Company works, which I visited, where the "Kongo" was built, employ 15,000 men, their plant covers 100 acres, and they can complete a war vessel of any type.

### BUILDING THE HULL

After the berth has been prepared the first operation is the laying of the keel-blocks and keel-plate in position. The flat keel-plate forms the backbone of the ship, and, while it is being laid down, it is made to slope slightly towards the stern, that is, towards the water end of the prospective vessel. Next is built up the double bottom, the fore and aft girders being continuous. The ship's transverse framings are on 4 foot centres and there is plating both above and below, so that the bottom of the ship is double and is composed of a number of water-tight compartments, any of which might be pierced without letting water into the hull. As soon as the double bottom has been built longitudinal bulk heads of hardened steel are erected, together with a protecting deck. This armoured deck extends the whole length of the vessel, slightly above the water line, and slopes down as it nears the sides, so as to join the outer skin of the vessel, some ten feet below the water line. In this manner the vitals of the ship are protected from damage from above. From this protected deck the sides of the vessel are continued upwards and there follow in turn the several decks on which the crew live, and from which the secondary armament is used. The bow and the stern pieces are huge castings that can be fitted in place only by means of cranes capable of lifting enormous weights.

After the vessel has received in part her several docks, the boilers and turbines are placed in her. As the hull is divided into



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two equal parts by a bulkhead running from stem to stern, all the boilers and engines are in duplicate on either side of this centre line. Such a ship as the "Kongo" has 42 boilers and four propellers, with four turbines for forward motion and two for going astern. It would be possible for one or more of her boiler rooms to be flooded and abandoned yet the remainder of her motive power might continue to operate. The boilers are one by one lifted on board, by means of a huge travelling crane and lowered into their places in the bowels of the ship. Then follow the turbines, first the lower casing, then the roter, and finally the upper casing are lowered into place. The Dreadnought was the first vessel to use the turbine and since that date this system has been almost universal with the larger vessels of the fleet. The roter of the "Kongo" has inserted in it more than 140 miles of blades, and when she is making speed her propellers revolve at the rate of 275 revolutions per minute.

When the vessel has been plated and decked she is launched. This is the birthday of the ship, and is attended with great ceremony. The huge vessel slides down the ways and plunges into the sea. She is soon brought to a standstill, however, towed round to the deep water basin and tied up alongside the pier from which the work required for her completion is carried on. Here she receives her armour, her guns and gun-mountings, and the countless accessories which make up her complicated mechanism. Generally speaking the hull of a battleship represents 25% of her value, the boilers and engines 25% more, and the armour and guns the remaining 50%, and she takes about two years in the building.

### THE ARMOUR

Now as to the armour. The preparation of the armour plate for the various parts of a battleship involves an immense plant. When we consider that the protective armour of a single Dreadnought represents a contract in the neighbourhood of \$3,000,000, we realize to some extent, the magnitude of the undertaking. Armour is used in several different periods of the construction. We have already dealt with that required for the transverse and longitudinal armoured bulkheads and the protective decks.

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These being made of comparatively thin armour, not difficult to handle nor heavy in weight, are placed in position while the ship is on the slip. When she is afloat, however, there is added the armour required for broadside protection and for sheltering the men who work the guns and occupy the fighting stations.

(Mr. Ames then exhibited a number of views illustrative of the making of armour in the works of the Armstrong-Whitworth Co., at Openshaw, Manchester. He followed the process from the ingot to the completed plate, through the various stages of rolling, hardening, planing, trimming, drilling, bending, grooving, and installing on the ship.)

### THE GUN

To make the guns, required for the equipment of a modern battleship requires a series of operations of a most expensive, complicated and tedious character. It demands an installation costing, according to various estimates, from \$8,000,000 to \$10,000,000, and a personnel made up of most skilful workmen gathered from all parts of the United Kingdom. Further, a gun making plant must be equipped with enormous machinery and with stupendous cranes, capable of lifting heavy weights.

The guns of a battleship are, generally speaking, of three kinds: the primary armament, which includes guns from 9.2 inch and upwards, that is to say, guns which require to be worked by machinery; the secondary armament comprising guns of smaller calibre that may be operated by hand and, finally, light guns such as pompoms used in the fighting tops and elsewhere.

A 13.5 inch gun is 52 ft. 6 inches in length, weighs 76 tons, and has a maximum range of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  miles and an effective range of  $5\frac{3}{4}$  miles. If stood up alongside of many a village church it would be as tall as the steeple.

In order to understand the making of a big gun it is necessary, at the outset, to know that it is composed of six parts:—the rifled tube, the support of the forward part, the jacket which thickens up the muzzle end of the gun, the breech-ring, the breech-bush, and the loading mechanism.

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(Mr. Ames then exhibited a number of views showing gun-making at the Coventry Ordnance Works, following and explaining the several processes, such as the casting, shrinking on, weighing, making the gun jacket, putting the pieces together, erecting the gun carriage and recoil mechanism and installing the gun.)

After all it must be remembered that a battleship is a floating fort. It is intended to carry the largest possible guns from one place to another and to permit of their discharge where they will do the greatest injury. In order to protect the gunners, the fort must be capable of resisting a similar attack. A modern battleship usually has eight or ten big guns placed in pairs within barbettes along the centre line of the ship. The guns are raised and lowered by machinery in response to the will of the gunner, but when it is necessary to move them along the horizon line this can only be done by moving the turret in which they are placed. The gun-mountings are built in the shop on shore and lowered on to the ship. They are really round platforms, on a circular drum, containing machinery, the whole mounted on a stalk, being let into an armoured socket on board the ship. The heaviest armour is hung along the sides of the ship, there being a layer of teak wood between the sheeting and the armour plate. The maximum protection is needed just above and just below the water line. There is likewise thick armour about the gun positions, and the conning tower and such places as must be occupied by the men who direct or who fight the ship.

With the installation of the armour and guns the main contracts terminate. But even after the hull is built and the decks laid, after the armour has been hung and the guns in their gun mountings placed aboard, there are still many additional operations required before the ship is ready for use. The battleship "Queen Mary," for instance, has 200 electric motors and 130 separate steam engines with several hundred miles of electric wiring. Before she could be taken over there were scores of smaller contracts that had to be completed.

After a vessel is finished by the builder she is taken over by the Government and thoroughly tried out. If, on her trials, she comes up to her requirements she is commissioned and manned, and henceforth becomes a part of the British Navy.



## *The Building of a Battleship*

I have often been asked whether battleships could be built in Canada; I have no doubt that this is possible if we are prepared to pay the cost, but to do so would be an extremely expensive undertaking. An eminent English shipbuilder, after figuring carefully for some days at my request, stated that it would cost £4,700,000 to install in England to-day an up-to-date plant—capable of completing a modern battleship. In Canada such an installation would, according to this authority, cost \$37,000,000, and this sum would not provide the pig iron plant, the manufactories for the plates and angles, for electric motors and wiring, for cables, for pumps, for steel wire for winding guns, for blades, for turbines, nor for a hundred other articles that even the best equipped British shipyard has to purchase outside. To maintain a plant of this character and extent, in Britain, would mean a payroll of \$4,000,000 per annum; in Canada, where wages are at least 35% higher, it would require \$5,350,000 per annum. To keep the battleship plant together, work of an annual value of about twelve million dollars would be required. This means turning out one battleship a year. In other words, no British shipbuilding firm would undertake to build battleships in Canada unless they had an assurance from our Government that they would have orders for at least one battleship a year for a term of years. Great Britain, which annually spends \$75,000,000 on new construction, three fourths of which sum goes into the building of capital ships, can afford to keep several plants in existence.

Mr. Churchill's statement that it would cost £15,000,000 to erect a battleship building plant in Canada may seem extravagant, but if we could imagine him as referring to an installation on an island, where raw materials only were locally obtainable, I venture to say that a self-contained establishment capable of building a Dreadnought could not be brought into being for a smaller amount.

To admit, then, that Canada cannot now build battleships need in no wise be regarded as placing a slight upon our native ability. We can have them built here, no doubt, if we are willing to pay the price. But it would be enormous. Such an undertaking at the present, therefore, is decidedly premature. On the other hand, there are smaller vessels required, such as cruisers

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and torpedo boat destroyers, which a plant much less costly can produce. If the Admiralty is prepared to place orders in Canada for a portion of ships of this character, which are needed from time to time, Canadians may hope to see shipbuilding established here in the not very distant future. An annual order of one light cruiser and two torpedo boat destroyers, in value amounting to \$3,750,000, would be sufficient to profitably employ a small shipbuilding plant. It is along these lines that Australia, not however, without considerable difficulty, is at present operating.

To recapitulate, let me say that a modern battleship built to-day in England costs in the neighbourhood of twelve million dollars. It is one of the most complicated mechanisms of modern times. Many thousands of skilled labourers and a plant worth at least \$27,400,000 is considered necessary to produce such a ship. Britain has been building ships for centuries. She has been building iron battleships for fifty years, those who would imitate her must be content with modest beginnings.

[January 19th, 1914]

## THE SINGLE TAX.

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By JAMES R. BROWN.

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THE power of taxation is the most potent for good or for evil that the Government can exercise. Some people say: "Oh, we have so much to raise, it does not make any difference how we raise it." A man said this to me the other day. Well, I said, if you had a hundred pound weight to carry I do not suppose you would care where we placed it on you? He said: "Not at all." Then I said, if we were to tie it to your left knee, instead of to your right shoulder, how would it affect your progress? Now, it does not matter how we raise our public revenue; the place where the weight falls is the all-important thing; it is the difference between progress or retrogression, between development and stagnation, between justice and injustice. By the single tax we mean "one," one and one only tax, to the abolition of all others of whatever kind or nature; and, in lieu thereof, one tax levied upon the value of land alone, exclusive of improvements. The result of this would be most amazing, would be most beneficial for the country and for the people; and would tend towards greater progress than any other change or any other proposition that can be submitted along governmental lines.

Now, we claim, and it is a very simple claim, that land value is a public value; that it rises and grows primarily because of the presence of society, and, secondly, because of social activities; that its increase is something not made by any man, but is purely and clearly a social product, and that to take it for the use of society is but doing the sane and sensible thing—to take for the use of society the value created by society. The present method of raising revenue has absolutely no defenders. I have not found



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any from the Atlantic to the Pacific; everybody is dissatisfied with it—it is very clear to anybody who has given this question any consideration that the tax rule today is but an aggregation of excuses and involves graft and petty larceny from top to bottom. We go forth and raise our taxes just about the way Rob Roy used to raise funds. Rob Roy would look around and say, so and so has got this, so and so has got that, so and so has got something else; we will go forth and rid them of it. Today we raise taxes in just about the same way. Do we raise taxes on the basis of what society does for society? No! We raise taxes on the basis of what the individuals do for themselves. If we were to run our private business the way our taxation system is run the sheriff would link arms with us in half a block. Nobody would do business on such a basis. Fancy a man going into a departmental store to buy a spool of thread for his wife who had said, "John, get me a No. 60 spool of thread." John goes into the store, asks for a No. 60 spool of thread, the girl puts it on the counter and John, man-like, asks, "How much is it?" "Well," she says, "that would just depend on how much you are worth; now if you are really wealthy it will cost you \$10, if you are really poor the price is 3 cents." "Why," he would say, "what on earth have my activities and my acquisitiveness got to do with the value of a spool of thread?" "Well," she would say, "we are organizing our business on a different basis and we charge people according to what they are worth and not according to the value of the article they are getting." "Well, that is a pretty rotten organization, and if you are going to continue on this line I see a red flag hanging out in a month." There would be about as much sense in doing that as there is in our present method of taxation. Now, take the case of a man in a town who paints his house; we come around with a tax bill. Remember the town did not paint the house, did not buy the paint, nor the brushes, nor supply the paint, yet the town goes and taxes the man because he has painted his house. They say, you have added to the value of your property by painting your house; therefore you have to pay an additional tax. "Well," John would say, "I painted the house, I supplied everything to paint my house; you didn't do the painting." "Ah, that does not make any difference, we have to tax you." Remember, it did not cost the town a cent

to paint John's house; no, not a thing was added to the expense of society by the fact that he had painted his house; not a cent was added to the expense of the street cleaning department, the health department, the fire department, any department. Then, in the name of common sense, why should we go to that man and ask him to give us compensation for something we did not do and that did not involve us in any added expense?

I might here state that it would add tremendously to the beauty of a whole lot of our Canadian towns if they were painted. I have seen a few of them, as I was raised here. I might suggest to the people of Toronto that they abolish the tax on painting and encourage the people on Yonge Street to paint it up a little, because it certainly is an awful looking place. Now, you know that would be a good idea. There is nobody here but who will agree with me that if Yonge Street were painted it would certainly look better. It would not cost the city of Toronto anything, as the people would do the painting, and, more than all else, by abolishing the tax on painting it would encourage the people on Yonge Street to paint their buildings. It would not hurt some of the buildings on some of the streets even in Montreal to be painted. We have got to get down to hard tacks and common business sense. If we went into an asylum, looked around and found the craziest man there, gave him pen and paper and said: "My friend, write for us a system of taxation," the worst he could do could not possibly be worse than we have done, and we are the smartest creatures that ever blew down the tide of time. For the good things that men do we punish them, and for the evil things they do we reward them; thus we make it hard for a man to be thrifty, honest and industrious and make it easy for the loafers. It's a great system, isn't it? If we could only get it thoroughly into our mind that the single tax method, taxes on land values only—Sir James Whitney notwithstanding—makes land cheaper and more accessible and that it acts diametrically opposite to the present method of taxing labor values! To tax labor values makes the production of labor products more difficult and hence more expensive to the consumer. If we do not remember this we cannot make any progress at all. If we cannot see this we are no better than a blind hound in a meat shop. We are in the position of a worker in iron who does not

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know that given heat iron will expand and given cold it will contract. Such a worker could do nothing because he lacks the first fundamental knowledge as to the development and progress of iron work, and so those of us who do not see this great fundamental truth lack the first real important knowledge of economics, that a tax on land values makes the land more inaccessible, while a tax on labor values makes them scarcer and dearer. For this reason land is fixed in quantity and we have made it artificially scarcer by giving a man a premium to hold it out of use. To place a tax on land values would destroy the existing speculation and force into use land now held for speculative purposes, and the whole community, which created the value, would benefit, as, of course, it should do. If we were to put the tax on land value, as a consequence down would come the value of land. The most important thing that could happen for labor and capital would be for the land values to fall. I was talking on the train to a builder and he said to me, "We have got to stop building, as the price of land is getting so high that we cannot pay it and come out even in the deal." Now, why should we stop building; don't we want the buildings? Even if a lot more buildings were put up in Montreal would it not make you feel all the more proud? We must get this clearly into our minds, too, that land spells opportunity for labor and for capital. There is no product without land; land is the source of all our activities—land is the actual source, and the dearer it is the scarcer it is, or the more difficult it is for labor and capital to produce successfully.

On the other hand, when we tax labor products that tax is shifted to the final user, though some of our statesmen do not think so. In the state of New York the farmers looked up to the people in the cities of Albany, Buffalo, etc., and said, "those rich fellows, they do not live in this town, they do not live in our county, we will take a hunk of their skin by taxing mortgages." It took them a year to find out that the net result of their taxing mortgages was to raise the rate of interest on themselves. A fellow in Toronto, sore at the C.P.R. for something or other, said their new building ought to be taxed. "Well," I said, "you could not tax the C.P.R. When you tax the C.P.R. do not imagine for one moment that you are taxing the C.P.R. That building is going to be filled with tenants and they will pay it



with taxes that will be added to their rent, and so you are simply making the people of Toronto pay, and not the C.P.R." And if you were to increase their taxation it would but add to their rates of freight and passenger service. In a little country town the old fellows will get their heads together and say about the country merchant, "that fellow has got a lot of money, he has a good store, lots of stock, now we will get after him alright." And they tax the stock of goods—Personal Property Tax. What does the merchant do? He adds it to the price of the goods and the fellows who levied the tax pay it. If you imagine that you can levy any tax upon labor product and thereby get any advantage you have a great mistake harboring itself in your mind. Well, why should we tax buildings, don't we want them? A man does not hurt anybody when he puts up a good building; it is a good thing. Really, when a man puts up a building that adds greatly to the beauty of our city should we tax him for it? It would not hurt Montreal if one hundred more buildings were to be erected here. In fact you would be pretty proud of the fact. If a man does a thing that you can be proud of then why in the name of common sense fine him? If a person makes an improvement he has to pay a fine—an impediment thrown in the way of progress! If a town was overrun with dogs would you appoint a committee to get rid of them by filling them full of gunshot? No, that would be a crude and cruel proposition. Or supposing the committee consisted of real genteel physicians who would put poisoned meat around in order to get rid of them—would that be a good thing to do? No, that would be a cruel way of getting rid of them. A ten-year-old boy could suggest an easy and a scientific way of getting rid of them; he would suggest that you tax them, and if your tax was high enough you would soon get rid of them. And yet does it not occur to us that when we tax labor values it has the same effect exactly—it makes them scarcer and restrains the production of them?

We are all great sticklers for property rights. Every man here is a great stickler on property rights—it is so in a highly developed civilization. A tax upon improvements is a grand and petty larceny because it is a violation of property rights. This book is mine. Why? I made it; it is mine to do with as I please. A neighbor of mine cannot come in and take this book and give

it to some one else. No. If I can establish the fact that I have made this against the whole world, against my neighbors, and against burglars, and that I alone have the right in that book, if one neighbor cannot come in and take my book, would any two neighbors have the right, or would any combination of neighbors have the right? Clearly no. After all, what is the taking and giving of this book by my neighbor but the delegating of a power that he does not possess within himself. I have the right to protect my own personal property, I have the right to delegate power as to my property inherently and fundamentally in me; I have no right and power to delegate to someone else a power that rests not in me. I have no right to take from a neighbor the product of his toil. I cannot delegate the right to any other individual. So when we levy a tax on improvements we are grossly violating property rights. The only property society has is land value. All other is private property and should remain inviolate in the hands of its producers. We are asking society to do a sane and an honest thing. It is so simple that the wise people cannot see it—one of those things hidden from the wise and revealed to the simple minded. This proposition is so simple that a man with one eye could see it. I take for the use of society the value that arose, grows and develops because of the presence of society and leave inviolate in the hands of the producers the value that is the result of individual activity and individual genius. Now, in taking land value for the use of society what do we do? Well, we again live honestly—society becomes for the first time honest, taking its own property. We are giving to private individuals property in very large amounts, we are always hard up, and having done so we have to go out and borrow. Towns generally have a third of their income absorbed in interest-paying bonds, and they leave the burden on future generations. Many times after giving away the town's own property we sally forth and take from them their property for public use—perfectly ridiculous. If we took land value for public use, and society were entitled to take—not a little of it—not one-half, nor three-quarters of it, but all of it, there would be a great change. The present system creates and encourages speculation, makes land artificially dearer, raises rent, lowers interest and lowers wages—that is the economic effect of our present system of taxation. Our

towns generally spread over vast areas—ten times more than they ever use. We are called upon to carry our public utilities past vast areas of vacant land which contribute very little to the funds of society, but all of which reflect the value of society. For instance, if I sell you a lot for \$5,000, what am I selling you? I am selling you the value of what society has done. I am selling you the advantages of living say, in Montreal. Well, Brown, if you were to say, that is a terrible price for a lot in Westmount, only a few years ago it could have been bought for \$500. That is true, while the lot is not any better, has not grown any since then, do not forget that we are growing (that is not any fault of mine), we have a good fire department, whereas we used to have a hand engine; we have well paved streets where we used to have mud to the hub; we have well lighted streets where we used to have to go forth with a lantern; we have a Police Department—life and property is much safer; in other words, we have done a whole lot of things and all we have done makes this location very much better to live in than it used to be. I will admit I did not do it, it is not anything that I have produced that has made this lot worth this price, it is not the result of my genius and labor, my abstemiousness, my virtues, it is the value of what the town has done. In other words, I am selling you public property.

We have spread our cities (did it ever occur to you that land is scarce in Canada?). We have less than 9,000,000 people in Canada between the Atlantic and say Nanaimo, B.C., between the American boundary line and the North Pole. We are proud of ourselves. Only about 9,000,000 people, or one man to every three square miles—and land is scarce! A fellow in Nova Scotia who wants to buy cheap land has to go away north of Athabaska Landing to get it. They say it is a great place to produce grain; everything you produce up there you will owe the railroad companies in money by the time they market it for you. Everywhere I see vast areas of land lying idle, producing nothing, not even giving revenue to the towns, or mighty little, people everywhere enduring great hardships, travelling great distances to get a little cheap land. If it were not such a tragedy it would be laughable to see modern, high-class business people continuing to do such things. Such is the result of our wise and proven statesmanship. Just let me give you an example. We could put the whole popu-



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lation of the earth in the State of Texas and only have ten to the acre—1,500,000,000—including Asia, Africa, Europe, all North America, Australia, etc. Land ought to be cheap! Again, if there were as many idle horses in Montreal as there are idle lots all the tramps could drive a four-in-hand to breakfast. Why, we could put the same population in British Columbia and we could have about five to the acre; the same in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba; we could put three to the acre in Ontario and about the same in Quebec. We have got an awful lot of room and in a country where there is 9,000,000—so few of us—and so much land, the cheapest thing here ought to be land, and cheap land is the best story that was ever carried to a poor and an oppressed people. If we used in Canada all the land that we have taken possession of, all the land that we need to its fullest capacity we would not be west of the Ottawa River today. There is plenty of room. What does it mean economically to spread 9,000,000 people over such a vast area? It lowers the power of production, follows the line of greatest, not least, resistance in our production, gives to our people less for their labor and less and less as we spread farther and farther from co-operation and the advantages of a closer community. Now, I ask you to substitute for the multitude of taxes you now levy one tax and that upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, and to abolish all the taxes we now raise on industry and labor production that stand in the way of development and that burden labor and capital, and ask you to take the property of society for the use of society. What objection could a sane man have to this? The only man who would have an objection is the man who wants to gather where he has not sown. In Canada, during the past few years, the people have seemed to get the fever to get something for nothing. It is fundamentally dishonest and creates a desire—an inherent desire—to gather where we have not sown. Now, we are driven to it by our present form of taxation. If a man builds a chicken coop we fine him every year for it, if he robs a chicken coop we fine him only once. If a man paints his house we fine him five times for it, but if he painted the town we would only fine him \$5. If I can make this point clear to this splendid gathering of men here this afternoon my journey will not have been in vain: that the only honest method of taxation is to take

that value that is public property for the use of society and leave inviolate all property that is private property—that the only real thing Cæsar has is land value, and Cæsar should take it all for the use of society. The net result of that would be this—that land, valuable land now held for speculation would be put to use, it would tremendously increase our production, it would stimulate trade, it would relieve us from those burdens that now make the life of the ordinary man one bitter struggle to barely live. What a civilization we have! and we are proud of it, some of us. To be a business man is to be a man whose face is seamed with lines of care long before he reaches middle age. To be one of the men on whose back the burden falls, that is to be known as a poor man. Getting a living ought not to be the chief concern in life; but it is, because labor and industry are taxed in every direction. There is no future prospect, no matter how many the hours of toil. Isn't it absurd that today increase in production renders the lot of the business man a bitter struggle day by day to keep his head above water, and makes it difficult for the working man to support his family?

Manhattan Island was first exchanged. The Indians met the Dutch colony. The Dutch dickered with them giving them glass beads, fancy colored cloth and a lot of truck that they had no use for and which was of no value. It is amazing that when an Indian meets a white man he is finished. Among the other things there was a little package done up in tinfoil. The Indians did not like it—it was limburger cheese. They came together again and finally sold the island for about \$24. Now, suppose I was the owner and I wanted to rent it, like the English lords who come out to this country and expect to establish a lordly estate, so that they can roll around in glorious luxury and live off the other fellows. Well, all I can say is that if these gentlemen expect to come out to Canada and live that way, they had better beat it to the woods. Well, supposing I wanted to rent this land, charging interest on what I had paid for it; that would be \$1.24 a year on the ground (not a very big income). Supposing I were to continue to be the owner right down to the present time—a little matter of 300 years—and without skill or brains, what would happen to that \$1.20 ground rent? Why, it would not have risen by my skill, my brain, my thrift, it would have risen because of

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the presence of society—because of all the improvements and because of the skill and thrift of all the people who live on it. It would have risen from \$1.20 per year to \$500,000,000 per annum. Terrible when you think of it! For the privileges of using Manhattan Island, or living upon it, of producing wealth upon it, labor and progress pay about \$500,000,000 a year. Suppose our production were to double, would wages rise, would the lot of the business man be eased? Not at all. Whose income would rise? Mine. Instead of \$500,000,000 a year—I would have \$1,000,000,000 a year. Now, I could travel a long way on that. I could have my houses in Newport, South Carolina, Europe, etc. I could have my steam yachts and my electric yachts, I could have anything I wanted—there would be no limit, not owing to the fact of my skill, industry and ability, but owing to the fact that people are so foolish as to be willing to give me their own property for my own private use.

Instead of taking private property for public use we could cut our land values in half and have \$250,000,000, while we only get now about \$110,000,000 for public use. Are we wronging any man by taking from him that to which he is not entitled? Not at all. The wrong comes in in the violation of property rights; not in society taking its own for its own use, but in allowing private individuals to take public property for private enjoyment. We strangle industry on the one hand, we rob production, we penalize men for doing a good thing; on the other hand, by not allowing the land value to go into the public treasury, we reward the idler, we artificially boom land value and make land artificially scarce. Every wrong thing that we can do along the line of living and collecting public revenue we are doing today. Let us go back to simplicity, to honesty and to common sense; let us manage our communities with the good hard sense that we at least try to manage our private affairs with, and then we can say: the power of taxation, properly used, can be made to make the desert bloom like the rose.



[Monday, January 26th, 1914.]

## THE TARIFF QUESTION FROM AN ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW.

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By E. M. McDONALD, M.P.

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IN dealing with this question I would imagine that as business men you would like to have some information in regard to the tariff from the standpoint of a politician in a non-political way. With this introduction let me proceed to say that this question of the tariff is one about which there has been the greatest amount of discussion, not only in this country but in many other countries for a long period of years, both in regard to changes of tariff and as to whether it was or was not a tax. So far as Canada is concerned I think that question may be regarded as absolutely settled, because there has always been a tariff in Canada since Federation, and it has always been a tax. In the sense in which I use that word I want to point out to you that in 1901 the people of Canada paid through the tariff in order that the country might be maintained the sum of \$28,000,000; in 1908 \$58,000,000; in 1913 the revenue which has been derived from the tariff upon imports into this country is \$111,000,00. That amount came through the tariff. It went into the exchequer of the country and so to the Government to defray the expenditure for public works and other services. Now as to the rate of that tariff. It is an interesting fact, if you go back for a period of years, that the taxation of Canadians through the tariff has not varied very much even as far back as 1867. In 1876 we find that the percentage of taxation upon the dutiable imports of the country amounted to 21 per cent.; on the total imports it was then 13 per cent. It varied up and down in the meantime, and in 1913 the percentage of duty collected upon the dutiable imports coming into Canada was 26 per cent.; on total imports 17 per cent. Now this rate is one which happens

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to be exactly the same rate which the United States Government is imposing under the Wilson Tariff Bill. Originally the tariff rate in the United States was very much higher, but as a result of the new tariff bill the tariff rate is exactly the same as what the Canadian rate is to-day. In England taxation is derived by other methods. In the United States to-day, in consequence of the reduction in the tariff rate, a system of taxation has been originated by the Federal authorities known as the Income Tax, which is not heard of in Canada. There has always been a great deal of academic discussion in regard to the tariff. There have been faddists advocating Free Trade and faddists believing in Protection. So far as Canada is concerned, however, no public man has ever come forward seriously to propose any method by which the burden of taxation obtained through the tariff can be obtained through any other channel. While it is very interesting to discuss this question pro and con, until we have a definite proposition made from some reliable source outlining how the burden of taxation it is necessary the Government receive can be obtained from this vast country in any other way, the discussion is still purely academic and it will be necessary, until then, that we should obtain the revenues of this country by means of the tariff. While the general rate of taxation upon the dutiable imports coming into this country is 26 per cent., this does not mean that upon all the articles coming into this country is that rate maintained. Here and there we have imports that come in at very low rates—some at very high rates. Rates run up to 35 per cent. or 40 per cent., or down to a small amount, but the average is 26 per cent. The fact that you have a tax through the tariff does not necessarily mean that it is a protective rate. A great many articles come in at the rate of 10 per cent. to 12 per cent., which the importer has paid into the revenues of the country, but the producer of that same article is not by any means protected. Of course where the rate is higher you have the protected condition. Let me give you an illustration of the condition as it exists to-day. For a great many years the policy of both parties was to assist as far as possible the iron and steel industry. Before you can have a condition under which the country can go forward—can advance—you must have a permanent iron and steel industry. In Canada we paid out between

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1897 and 1907 more than \$16,000,000 by way of bounty in order to encourage this industry. With the discontinuance of that bounty the amount of duty did not exceed 15 per cent.; in a great many cases it is below 10 per cent. So far as that great industry in this country is concerned the tariff has not protected it in any degree.

With these few general remarks I would like to call your attention to one or two new elements that have entered into the consideration of public men in connection with tariff matters which I think it well for all of us to realise and take into further consideration. These elements are both internal and external. Take for instance the problem that has to be faced by this country since the development of the great Western land. A little over ten years ago there were not half a million people there; today there are a million and a half. A little over ten years ago there were less than thirty representatives from the three great Prairie Provinces. Inside of two years there will be fifty. These men are imbued with the sentiment peculiar to their part of the country, that the tariff is a tax to a greater degree where they are concerned. The farmer from that section of the country wanting to buy an agricultural implement is in a different position to our farmer in this section, who possibly wishes to purchase a small mowing machine. He has to pay 15 per cent. duty on his implement, and when he ascertains that he is paying into the revenue of this country \$150 on a mower and reaper and \$300 or \$400 on a plough he feels that he is suffering from the tax. This is a question which it is most important for our people in the East to realize. The United States faced the same problem. The division between the North and South which occurred some years ago and gave rise to a war was merely a conflict of interests. Later on there was the division between East and West largely on economic lines, and we are on the verge of a similar division in this country, largely on economic lines on account of this condition. It is a problem not for the men of one political party, but for both. The West is very aggressive. The West allege that they suffer in this particular and they demand relief. They are more aggressive than the people of the East have ever been. The division which has so long existed on account of the barren country West of Lake Superior makes the problem more



complicated than in the great American republic. But here the problem is, and here is a condition which has to be reckoned with. They produce abundance of grain in Saskatchewan, but they produce hardly anything else, and they are imbued with the idea that they have to pay the great burden of taxation.

Just let me show you another instance of the problem which faces us as regards the West. Few of us realize the great strides which the West has made in the production of wheat. Ten or fifteen years ago we talked about Canada being the granary of the Empire. In 1900, which is not so very long ago, the total production of wheat of all kinds, grain and oats, from the country west of Lake Superior was 39,000,000 bushels; in 1905 it was 150,000,000 bushels: last year the production of wheat and oats was 451,000,000 bushels. Let me give you the condition in regard to grain alone. In 1900 there was produced 23,000,000 bushels; in 1905, 82,000,000; in 1913, 209,000,000 bushels. More bushels of wheat were produced than if Great Britain took every bushel in Canadian grain necessary to keep Great Britain supplied. But how is that grain disposed of? Taking the figures known to us we find that 40,000,000 bushels would be consumed in Canada. Last year we exported to Great Britain 83,000,000 bushels, so there remains on the hands of the Western farmers 86,000,000 bushels to be disposed of some way, somewhere. And these farmers ask the public men and the business men of Canada—where are we going to get the market for that grain? For every thousand people who go into that Western country, to that extent will there be an increase in production, and increased difficulty in solving the problem of the surplus production. In this connection I want to show you what the consumption of Great Britain is in regard to grain. I have the figures in hundredweights, but you will be able to readily translate them. The total consumption of grain in Great Britain according to authentic figures in 1912 was 109,000,000 cwt. Of this India furnished 25,000,000—the greatest quantity from any one country—Canada 21,000,000; Australia 11,000,000; United States 19,000,000; Argentine 18,000,000; Russia 9,000,000. From the two great colonies of the Empire, together with the dependency of India, you have in the vicinity of three-fourths of the total consumption of wheat which took place in Great Britain, but

## *The Tariff Question from an Economic Point of View*

Canada did not take first place. India led in the export of grain which is consumed in Great Britain. Here is the problem for the tariff man. I am not going to discuss how it can be solved. I am only suggesting these data to you.

Another problem is near at hand in regard to tariff. For the last forty years the attitude of the American people and their position in regard to the tariff has been an element that has to be taken into consideration by the business and public men of this country. There have been changes going on in that country, which have been attracting a good deal of attention here. What has been the result in Canada? I was surprised the other day in looking up some figures to find what a tremendous buyer Canada has been from the United States within the last few years. In 1903 we only purchased \$128,000,000 worth of goods from the United States; in 1911, \$274,000,000. How much do you suppose we purchased in 1912? \$441,000,000. In 1913, for the nine months to October 31st, we purchased, and the amount of our imports from that country amounted to \$440,000,000, and on that basis up to March 31, 1914, our total imports will reach the colossal figure of \$590,000,000, or twice as much as what we purchased three years ago. We are paying the United States twice as much—we are sending out of this country into the United States for goods imported twice as much as we did three years ago. The figures in regard to exports into that country do not show anything like such an increase as one would naturally expect. Within the last three months, however, as a result of the Wilson Bill, the exports of farm produce and agricultural productions of all kinds increased \$17,000,000 per month. So that, as a result of the Wilson Bill, and of some causes which we need not discuss, we have collected on goods going into the United States this enormous amount of money, until it has reached this colossal figure. These figures must be taken into consideration by the business and public men of this country. In regard to exports: in December 1913 we sent the United States \$55,000,000 worth of goods. In 1912, \$38,000,000. But the disparity between exports and imports is very great and we do not export into that country half of what we import. The exports have not increased in the same degree as the imports.

## *The Tariff Question from an Economic Point of View*

I may be permitted to say that this is information which the business men may not have ready at hand in regard to conditions in this country, and the problem is as to whether or not tariff conditions have anything to do with it. This is a matter which we have to solve for ourselves, but it does seem to me that fair consideration should be given to all sides of this big question. It seems to me that the time has come in the history of Canada when we should have a revision of tariff, consequent upon changed conditions. We have the abnormal condition in the West which demands treatment, and which well-wishers of Canada will realize. We have the abnormal increase in the imports from the United States, and the various other problems. Then we must take into consideration the effect of the Wilson Bill upon the general business of this country. Let me say to you that there is one curious thing in regard to the tariff. We have had theorists who have argued as to this particular line of trade policy, or the advantages of the other; but no tariff has ever been planned on scientific lines, or with that regard to its effect on other industries, which is so vitally important. I think the business interests of this country, the whole condition and position of Canada, have reached that point where we might look at the tariff from a scientific point of view. We might very naturally claim that it is time, if Canada is going to collect its revenue by a tariff, that it be adjusted along scientific lines, having regard to the producer and the consumer alike. That is the problem which has to be dealt with by the public and business men. In dealing with a question of this kind we must have regard to the necessity for widening the markets for some of our natural produce. In dealing with this, which is a business man's question after all, there should be due regard given to the fact that in this item or that item the greatest care should be given to the interests which are affected by it in its operation. And above all—whether you look upon tariff either as a method of tax or whether you look to it for protection—it seems to me that those who have to deal with the problem must be imbued by the desire and the hope that we may continue to develop that national spirit and pride in our country, of which your Canadian Club is such an adequate expression.



[February 2, 1914]

## IMPERIAL UNITY.

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By J. NORTON GRIFFITHS

Member of the British House of Commons.

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THE subject upon which I have the privilege of addressing you is one which to me is of the greatest interest; and I am sure it is so to all of you, for I have learned that if you want to get the real feeling of what Imperial Unity means, you have to travel throughout the British Empire.

I might say, at the start, that I was brought up in the school of that great genius of Imperialism, Cecil Rhodes; and it was from coming in contact with him that I learned most of these points which I shall try to emphasize to-day.

I interpret the phrase Imperial Unity as being some means of organic union, like a cement thrown among the various elements that make up the British Empire, and so connecting them that for all time they remain a united family. The trouble with me is that whenever I try to speak on this question, I am puzzled as to what phase or what direction I shall take; because it covers such a wide field and there are so many points that one can do justice to it if one were to select them. However I shall start with one of the main points—the *necessity for* Imperial Unity.

We have to-day, pretty well all over the world, combinations between different powers. We have in Europe on the one hand the Triple Alliance, Germany, Austria and Italy; and we have in conjunction with ourselves France and Russia combining to maintain the peace of Europe and safeguard our respective interests, which of course is the main object underlying. But dealing with Europe as a whole, I am one who firmly believes that unless

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we can find some means of closer and more defined union among ourselves, we shall run very great risks indeed, in the near future, of becoming a lot of little states. Much as I believe that, I do believe just as firmly, as the outcome of living nearly the whole of my life in the Dominions, mostly Africa, that we have to-day the finest material, the finest type of men, physically, morally and mentally, that you will get in any part of the world. If we can only get that strength united in one common cause, we can defy all comers, and what is most important of all, maintain the peace of the world for all time. I believe that the most effective way—the way we could achieve the greatest results, would be by the creation of some sort of Imperial body which I shall call an Imperial Council or Senate. I agree that the fascinating project of bringing into existence a truly Imperial Parliament, by constructing a new Imperial Constitution, is a task of immense difficulty, particularly if any executive authority were suggested, if the autonomy of any individual unit of the Empire were threatened. None of us had ever the slightest intention of proposing anything that would interfere with the autonomy of any individual unit of the Empire.

All serious men, however, who are keeping closely in touch with events of the outside world and the rapid progress and development of our own great Empire, realize that the present need is for some truly representative Imperial organization which where necessary will act as a buffer, a live wire, even between ourselves, and through which the voice of the Empire, wherever you may reside, may be heard. We need something to be a live wire, or a buffer, to prevent disagreement coming between us. Two brothers often have a quarrel. This would help everything to run smoothly, quietly, and work for the common good and welfare of all. I can give you an instance of a recent occurrence. We have all read about what has been happening in South Africa. I had the pleasure of staying with Mr. Louis Botha before the war, and I do know this, that he will find a solution to what is at present a very serious and grave crisis, from an Imperial point of view. If you get extremists, in one House or the other, hurrying all sorts of questions, not carefully weighed, at the Government in South Africa, it might lead to very serious things. I am quite sure we can rely upon our Speaker in the House of Com-

mons to keep anyone from going out of bounds. This is a question upon which some big Imperial organization might effectively be a buffer between any ill-feeling that might arise between the general public in England and South Africa.

The problem, however, is in what way to maintain and strengthen the Empire's development along safe and sure lines. That is the main problem, which I think all statesmen have in view, and I think that this could be best done by the creation of what I have described as some sort of an Imperial organization, which should connect all the different units of the Empire, if it could be devised. What is the British Empire which we have to safeguard? We all know that from a commercial standpoint it is the greatest trading area in the world to-day, over eleven million square miles, with a population of nearly five hundred millions. Surely such a great structure as this would justify the creation of some Imperial organization, so that when the interests of the different units clashed, it might rise supreme and be in a better position to look after the general interests of the Empire. One of the things which prompted me to enter the political arena (some say for my sins) was that, backed by the knowledge and experience I had gained by living out of England most of my life, I might be able to enlighten some of my fellow countrymen as to what the British Empire meant. When I went into the House of Commons one of the first things I did was to turn my efforts to getting together a committee of four members, one Australian, one Canadian, one Englishman and myself, as representing Africa. Together we quietly worked up a petition and presented it to Mr. Asquith, signed by hundreds of members of the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith said that it was one of the most representative memorials ever presented to him during his forty years in the House of Commons. The wording of that memorial consisted of but a few lines. It prayed for the creation of an Imperial Parliament of an advisory character. Since then we have been quietly working away. The feeling in the Commons is that there are a large number of members in favor of any concrete suggestions that might be forthcoming from the Dominion, but the Dominion Parliaments should take the lead themselves. There are many members in that house who quite realize the great work that men like Sir John MacDonald, Cecil



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Rhodes, the late Lord Strathcona and other great Empire builders, have done in the past to safeguard our Empire, and they fully realize that some effort is necessary now to secure for all time what we are proud to call our common birthright. The enormous progress of Imperial trade would in my humble position, and of those who think with me, warrant the creation of some such organization as that which I have suggested to you.

Taking the last fifteen years available, we find that in 1896 our Imperial Trade amounted to 985,000,000 pounds sterling. In 1910 it rose to 1,000,770,000 pounds sterling. Foreign trade of the Empire in the same period rose from 745,000,000 pounds sterling to 1,000,000,317 pounds sterling. Picture for one minute something happening, as it surely will do, to endanger this volume of trade, which affects the whole Empire. There is no effective organization in existence at the present time which in any way expresses the feeling of the Empire as a whole. We have no way of getting a quick expression of opinion. The only avenue open to us is through the slow and cumbersome methods of official channels. Downing Street may have the greatest brains in the world, but it is impossible that they should be capable of comprehending the points of view of all corners of the Dominion which they have to represent in any crisis. If you had the whole Empire speaking as one man with one voice, just picture in a great international crisis what an impression this would create.

There have been many suggestions as to the method of creating such an Imperial Council, but no definite conclusions have been reached. I am rather glad, in a way, because before you can formulate anything successfully you must have public opinion ripe, otherwise whatever scheme one might put forward would be torn to shreds. Sir Joseph Ward, of New Zealand, put before the last Imperial Conference a proposition. Public opinion was not ripe and he was more or less turned down. The work of those who think as I do in this matter is to try to get the whole Empire to speak very definitely on this one subject. If opinion throughout the British Empire is that some such organization should be created, I am sure that as far as the members of the House of Commons are concerned there will be no hesitation or delay there in trying to bring such a scheme up.

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Dealing with naval matters (and I am not going to tread on forbidden ground) I have been asked—What is the real position in the Navy? They have heard on the one hand that we are passing through a crisis; on the other that we were not passing through a crisis. When this difference of opinion occurred here on so important a matter, at that moment you needed some independent organization, quite above party politics, which could really tell the Empire as a whole whether or not we were. This would in all probability have helped materially to formulate public opinion definitely. So far as the navy is concerned to-day, it is well known throughout the world that we are put to it very hard in the Old Country. Forty years ago the naval estimates were under 10,000,000 pounds sterling. Last year they reached 44,000,000 pound sterling and the coming naval estimates for next March should, if England does her duty, reach the gigantic sum of over 60,000,000 pounds sterling for one year. To maintain a navy for what? To maintain the supremacy of the British nation—of which the navy is the life and soul. It was but a few weeks ago—when the Little Navy Party in England were trying to reduce the navy estimates, regardless of our obligations, and it was said that Lloyd George was on one side and Winston Churchill on the other—the leading paper of France "*Le Temps*" published a very serious and grave article on hearing this news; it reminded England that if she did not make good her understanding that it might seriously affect the *Entente Cordiale*.

Now consider what would happen if the Little Navyites were to cut down the programme and break our word to a foreign power. Why, it would mean hopeless collapse. We should be left standing without any allies, hopelessly alone and at the mercy of the world in general. Now, supposing you had an Imperial organization where party did not reign, where you had representatives from all parts of the British Empire speaking with one voice the opinion of that Empire. I venture to say it would sweep the party right out of power if they went contrary to the wishes of such an Imperial organization.

May I go back to the main point—the question of Imperial Unity, and may I just draw one little picture, as the time is getting short, which I am sure will appeal to you.

## *Imperial Unity*

The balance of power in Europe to-day is threatened. In common phraseology, the price of Tripoli to the Italians was 6 Dreadnoughts in the Mediterranean by 1915; the price of Triple Alliance support, i.e., Germany, Austria, Italy, to Austria in the near East was 6 Dreadnoughts in the Mediterranean by 1915, Germany contributing her share of six (upwards of 50,000,000 pounds sterling) in ships they have built or are building. One of the main causes underlying the recent tightness of money in Europe has been the feeling of insecurity, caused by the possibility of the balance of Naval Power changing hands, and if you could by magic have placed eighteen dreadnoughts on the way to the Mediterranean, representing the whole British Empire, that nervousness would have disappeared, just as when a puff of wind blows a bit of tissue away. You would have had confidence restored and money circulating as freely as ever. If we could have created a great Imperial Flying Squadron, representing every unit of the British Empire, paying those visits of courtesy to Foreign powers, so vital in the interests of trade, each year assembling, one year in Canadian waters, the next in European, the next in Australian, and so on, and then going back to their respective shores, and re-assembling again, the moral effect would be tremendous. If we could achieve such a high ideal we need never fear foreign aggression, for the world would realize that we were in fact a truly united and determined people. We would have in our hands for all time the peace of this world.

Some people might say—this is all sentiment. Well, let me give you the practical side of the question. The British Navy has made the cheapest money in the world for the Empire. You can get your money at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4%. Behind security and strength lies cheap money. The man who talks peace and reduces his armaments, or advocates such a course, is the very man who will bring war about. If you want peace and you go to a Convention to talk peace, take an extra dreadnought. Here I can give you one little instance. During the controversy on the other side, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill came down from the Cabinet arm in arm. Now, just suppose they had not done so, but had gone out by opposite doors, shaking their fists at each other. This would have materially affected the tone of the money market.



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May I say, in conclusion, first apologizing for my very poor effort to-day, that the only security, and the most pressing need of the British Empire today, is a sound system of Imperial defense both on land and sea, so that we shall work as one people with one idea and one wish—the perpetuation of the British Empire with all its glory, its history and its greatness, which stands for the liberty and betterment of mankind. In this effort for Imperial Unity what better inspiration can any of us wish than the words written on the monument of the brave Canadians who laid down their lives in defense of their country in South Africa:—

“Tell England, ye who pass this monument,  
That we who died serving her rest content.”

[February 9th, 1914]

## THE DOMINION HOUSE SCHEME

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By LORD CHELMSFORD

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UNDER ordinary circumstances I should feel somewhat diffident about coming to Canada and addressing Canadians on a matter which, after all, is their own, but I believe that I come to Canada with credentials which will be recognized by all Canadians. I come here at the request of Lord Grey. You, as well as I, know Lord Grey to be a man of large vision; you, as well as I, have come under the spell of his enthusiasm, and you, as well as I, know the ardent love that he has for Canada, and the sympathy which he has always shown with anything that pertains to Canada's welfare. I am confident, then, that any man who comes here on the recommendation of Lord Grey need be under no apprehension as to the reception that he is likely to receive.

Now let me turn to the scheme which Lord Grey has asked me to explain in Canada; but before I enter into the details of that scheme let me endeavor very briefly to brush away certain inaccuracies which have been published.

In the first place, I saw it stated the other day, and the news was cabled to the Old Country, that this scheme had been rejected by the Government. Well, gentlemen, I only saw the Government last Thursday. They gave me a very long and a very courteous hearing, and they promised me that they would give this scheme the fullest and most careful consideration. I feel perfectly sure that the Government will acquaint Lord Grey or myself, as soon as possible, when they have come to a determination or decision upon the subject. The decision is still "upon the knees of the

Gods," but I feel sure that the scheme has not yet been rejected by the Government, but is receiving their earnest consideration.

In the second place, I have heard that we are here to get profit out of the scheme. When I was coming over on the boat, a gentleman assured Mr. Bond, who is with me, that we were out to get £100,000. That is the first I have heard about it if it is so. But I want to contradict this quite emphatically, and I think that any gentleman here will accept Lord Grey's statement as being the facts of the case. Lord Grey wrote a letter to Lord Strathcona, to be forwarded to the Government, and he alludes to this matter in the following terms:

"I have already stated that my company has secured the above options for the express purpose of keeping the site open to be appropriated for Imperial purposes. The company is prepared to hand over the benefits of the options to the Dominion Government without retaining any profit, on repayment of the sums paid for the options and expenses incurred in connection with the matter."

Now that is the explanation, gentlemen. I can understand, however, some people saying: "Well, why then do they embark upon this project at all?" Gentlemen, there are some of us who have served as King's representatives in His Majesty's Dominions who think that no expenditure of trouble or time is too great if we can do anything for the benefit of the Dominions with which we have been connected. That may be a quixotic idea. Our efforts may be regarded sometimes as an impertinent intrusion, but I would ask those who regard it as such to put it down to excess of zeal on our part, and that is the beginning and end of the whole story.

Let me come to another point which touches the scheme itself. There are some who think that this scheme is nothing more than a glorified Imperial Institute scheme over again. I would like to say that the Imperial Institute has done some very valuable work for the Empire as a whole. It has done some extremely valuable research work as to the new uses to which old products can be put. But the Imperial Institute, from the point of view of a place in which to exhibit the products of the Empire, has not been a success, but a failure. But the reasons were adequate. Some of you may have been in London and know where the In-



## *The Dominion House Scheme*

stitute is situated. It is in a remote and inaccessible part of London, where business men are not likely to go. On the other hand, here is this Aldwych site, which I am here to talk to you about, in the very centre of London, on the highways from north to south, from east to west, and if I may ask a moment's attention to some maps you will see just how it is situated. This is the London Post Office map, not a map got up for this occasion, and you may rely upon it. I have drawn some lines north to south, east to west on this map. This is the Aldwych site and it shows how near it is to the centre of what may be described as London. Well, then, as regards the number of people who pass by it. In the first place, as I have stated, Kingsway brings through Aldwych the traffic north and south, but it is also on the highway to the streets leading down to the city. Within 500 yards of this site there are three stations. Look at this little black spot over in the centre. All these red veins are the arteries of traffic, all round the other side are the motor busses. Here again we have the County Council Tramway. All those red lines represent the tramways that pass by. There are something like 446 motor busses making the trip three times a day passing this site; 400 trams pass daily up and down Kingsway. So that the great thronging multitude of London passes by this site; and at the same time you have every means of transit available for them to pass by and also to visit this site.

With regard to the Imperial Institute, there has been an exhibit there for years, but while there has been an exhibit there for years there has never been anyone there who could explain what the products shown were and what use they could be put to. The Special Agent's quarters were miles away. But as proposed by this scheme, on this site there should not only be this great exhibit of Canadian products, but the High Commissioner's and the Special Agent's offices, and a Bureau of Commercial Intelligence; and in the 19 acres of floor space which are contained in the building, it is suggested by Lord Grey that all the banks, the insurance companies, the newspaper offices, and all the other businesses with which Canadians are connected, should take their offices. In that way you would have a great hive of Canadian industry on this site and Canada would not only become known by every Londoner, but every man almost in the

world who passes by that site, as something more than a mere geographical impression. You would also have all the people who are engaged in Canadian enterprise under one roof, where they can get the latest information with regard to Canadian industry.

Do not confuse our scheme with the Imperial Institute of the present moment. Let me say further, we are not here to further a crusade on behalf of Lord Grey's scheme. We are here merely to place before the Government the details with regard to it and explain, as I am endeavoring to do this morning, what Lord Grey means. The last thing, I feel sure, that Lord Grey would wish would be to attempt to force upon Canada something which would be unwelcome to her. I can only say that I have been in Canada about ten days, and if there is one characteristic which I have noticed more than another it is that Canadians would be the first to resent anything like outside interference with their own affairs. I am not here to suggest anything of the sort, but merely to put before you what I believe would be a scheme conducive to Canada's best interests.

One more objection that I have heard raised and I will come to the details of the scheme itself. It has been suggested that to house on this site, under one roof, three great Dominions, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada, would be to bring about a friction amongst the Dominions which would be most undesirable. Well, this scheme is one which permits of elasticity of treatment. All that Lord Grey has got is the option of this freehold, which can be taken over by the Dominions, or State or Province, and if Canada thinks that she would prefer herself to take it over it is open to her to do so. On the other hand, it would be possible to divide up the site of three acres among these Dominions, so that it might look externally as one, and yet each Dominion would be under its own roof and in its own building. That, again, is a perfectly possible solution. I would only say that if Canada does take up a scheme such as this it should admit as tenants the other Dominions if they should ask it.

Let me now pass on to the details of the scheme. I have a very short time in which to speak and I am sure you do not want rhetoric. A plain statement of the case will, I think, interest you more. I think any of you who have been over to London

## *The Dominion House Scheme*

will admit that the present offices of the Canadian High Commissioner are unworthy of Canada and do not represent what Canada really is. You are looking to have a new High Commissioner to represent you in London. Are you going to ask that new High Commissioner to attempt to represent Canada in London in that Victoria Street site and compete with Sir Geo. Reed, the Australian High Commissioner, in the magnificent building which Australia is putting up on the site adjoining the property proposed to you? That is a building of which the King laid the foundation stone last year, and it is the property immediately adjoining this site which Lord Grey suggests should be taken over by the Dominions.

In the second place, I think I would have almost equal unanimity of opinion that the present site of the Dominion offices is out of the way. Nearly all the Dominions and States and Provinces of the Empire are migrating farther eastward. Australia, as I told you, is leaving Victoria Street for Aldwych. Queensland is going to the Strand; New Zealand is going to the Strand, and accordingly the trend is eastward, towards this site, which is one of the most magnificent in London for such a purpose. The site itself is three acres in extent, it has a frontage on the Strand of some 430 feet.

With regard to the option Lord Grey has upon this site to purchase it freehold at a price of \$6,300,000, may I tell you how the London County Council has dealt with Lord Grey with regard to this matter? In the first place it is against the policy of the London County Council to give of its land except on leasehold tenure, but for certain public purposes they are willing to break that rule. In this case they consented to do so. Australia has a freehold tenure, but there are only three cases in which the London County Council has consented to more than leasehold tenure. The price originally asked by the London County Council for this site, to Lord Grey, was \$6,790,000, but when he assured them that it was for a really Imperial purpose and that he was not pressing the scheme unless he could get the Dominions to take it up, they reduced that price to \$6,305,000. In fact, the County Council were willing to give, as a subscription, from the rate payers of London to this scheme, the sum of \$485,000, in view of the Imperial character of the scheme.



That I think would show your how the great municipal body of the metropolis of the Empire view this scheme on their side of the water.

This option was granted for three years from the 24th of June, 1913, but the London County Council very fairly said this: "We cannot hold up this great site for these three years unless each year we get an assurance from you that something is being done and likely to be accomplished with regard to this option." So they have taken the power in the agreement to terminate it with one month's notice, before the end of each year; so before the 24th of May next they will ask Lord Grey: "Have you any assurance to give us that during the ensuing year the Dominions, or any one of them, are likely to take up this scheme of yours?" And they told us, outside of the agreement, that if we could give that assurance that they would be willing that the option continue over another year. But next year the same assurance will be asked, and I may say that we have it in writing from the London County Council that already a Parisian Syndicate, who wish to exploit this site for their own purposes and create a Paris in London on this site, are ready to pay down the first year's rental of £55,000 (\$266,750), if only they can get hold of this site.

Now, I ask you, is it not far better that this great site shall serve an Imperial purpose than that it shall be used for some purely commercial undertaking, such as the Parisian Syndicate?

Well, now, gentlemen, having got this option and having got this wonderful site, what uses is it to be devoted to? For this purpose Lord Grey asked Mr. Marshall McKenzie, the architect of the Australian building, to design for him a building that we might know to what possible uses this site and building could be put. In the second place he wanted to know the possible cost. These plans which we bring here were drawn up solely for that purpose. They are not plans which the Dominion is in any way bound to take it if it decides to take up this option. Canada can have her own architect, her own plans. And look at the advertisement which such a building and such a site would be for Canada. I may say that I have not time to go into the financial details, but we have on reliable authority this assurance, that when the nineteen acres of floor space in this building (three floors under ground, eight above) are fully let it would represent

## *The Dominion House Scheme*

a net income, after outgoings and maintenance charges, of \$601,000 a year.

Now, what is suggested for this building? In the first place, on the ground floor you have a great Exhibition Hall, which in its full dimensions it is scarcely possible to show, but taking the full length of the building, is in length and breadth very nearly twice the size of Westminster Hall. Going down to the last basement you have another Exhibition Hall, which is intended to show manufactured products in which Canada may be interested, the sort of goods Canada wants or can supply; and next to this could be the Commercial Intelligence Bureau, to give information with regard to the products and exhibits. The High Commissioner's and Special Agent's offices would be here, to tell the people about Canada, would-be emigrants, all those who have business with Canada; would-be investors; and then all those other societies and businesses, banks and insurance companies, and newspaper offices connected with Canada, might have their central headquarters in this building, and moreover you would have a magnificent tower two feet higher than the cross of St. Paul's, known as "CANADA'S TOWER" throughout the length and breadth of London, a magnificent advertisement of Canada's greatness and possibilities.

Now I feel sure that some business men will say, "What is this scheme going to do for us?" I understand that you gentlemen, who do business with or send your goods over to London or England, have great difficulty with regard to facilities in the matter of fares and transportation bases from industrial centres to port, and from port to port and destination. Those figures are all available to you, but they are not available in England. The Bureau will attend to all that. With regard to your market. You have your expert officers over in England, but with a Bureau such as this, by consultation and co-operation, they could bring such a pressure to bear upon people with whom they have to deal that they would be able to get what they wanted with little or no trouble. Investigation as to the new uses that old products could be put to is invaluable. You here, with your great resources of all kinds, know that every day science discovers some new use which primary products can be put to.

## *The Dominion House Scheme*

I will put the finance of this scheme in a nutshell. Altogether, the capital expenditure on this scheme, counting the insurance during course of construction, would total out at \$14,012,000. Canada can borrow at 4% money in Great Britain, and this would represent a total amount of interest to be paid of \$560,000 a year. As I told you just now, the letting value of the premises in this great building would amount to \$601,400 a year, so when the building was fully let you would have a margin over the interest which you have to pay on the capital expenditure of some \$59,000.

Now of course it may be said by some, "But can we afford to do this?" May I, as a stranger, say "Can you afford not to do it?"

In conclusion—a great man passed away a fortnight ago, in London, Lord Strathcona. You, as Canadians, are proud of him, and we in England are also proud of him as one who sprung of British stock. If you erect this building in London, a hive of Canadian industry, a monument to Canadian greatness, a tower symbolizing Canada's past and her future aspirations, you will be proud of it as Canadians, but I can assure you of this, that we in the Old Country will be none the less proud of it, as having been erected by those who are, after all, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.



[February 16th, 1914]

## CRIMINALITY AND PROSTITUTION

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BY DR. WILLIAM MARTIN RICHARDS

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THE title of this address is a little misleading. My address is about school children. Oliver Wendell Holmes once said, "If you wish to reform a man, you must begin with his schooldays." So, if you wish to reform a criminal or a prostitute, you must do it while he or she is a child at school. It is the defective school child who goes out into the world and becomes a criminal or a prostitute. Therefore, if we wish to have as few criminals and prostitutes as possible, we want proper medical inspection in our public schools.

Every time a boy loses a year in school work, it costs you \$50. That is the price of a year's schooling in New York, and I suppose it is the same here. Isn't it cheaper to spend this amount first in proper medical treatment, than to spend hundreds of dollars afterwards in your police courts, prisons, and other institutions? You are all doubtless aware that the present method of inspection in our schools is a ridiculous farce. Several hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent every year for which the taxpayers receive very little return.

To-day, in the world we have quite as much or even more kindly feeling than we have ever had. But the channel into which this kindness flows is quite different from that of fifty, thirty, or even ten years ago. Just as in medicine we are working for the prevention of disease, so in our work of alleviating human suffering we are seeking the causes of this suffering and relieving it, rather than treating the sufferer after the harm is done. This we are doing side by side with our relief of the cases of misery which have already occurred. We have for years

been building sanatoria for the care of pulmonary tuberculosis. To-day we have not ceased to treat this disease after it has attacked people, but side by side with these efforts we have inaugurated proper care of human beings, and of tenement houses and factories, so that the great causes of this disease, namely lack of fresh air and sunlight, over-crowding of rooms and shops, and stopped-up noses, shall not continue to produce this disease as fast as we can treat it. Distinctly in line with this modern tendency is my subject to-day.

It is all very well to work for the reform of criminals and prostitutes, but it is much more important to prevent human beings from entering upon a life of crime or prostitution. The causes of criminality in both sexes are frequently identical with the causes of prostitution in a woman. These causes are of two kinds, first moral, secondly physical. The mental factors in the production of criminals and prostitutes are as a rule secondary to the physical and the moral ones. The greatest moral factor in the production of criminality and prostitution is not the love of money but the love of unnecessary money, and the substitution of the ideal of pleasure for the ideal of service. Charles W. Morse, former president of a New York bank, was at one time worth about \$7,000,000. I think that almost anybody would call this enough money to buy a fair amount of comfort, but the more money he had, the more money he wanted. So he helped himself to some of his depositor's money, and was sentenced to fifteen years in the U. S. Federal Prison. As a result of false medical testimony, that he was about to die, President Taft released him; and he is again at large, doubtless trying to make more unnecessary money.

An example of the love of unnecessary money as a moral factor in the production of prostitution recalls the history of a trained nurse of my acquaintance. As a child she was very pretty, and being an only child, was rather badly spoiled. She never did well in her lessons at school, and at 18 ran away from her home in Providence, entering a training school in Philadelphia. While in the hospital she had sex relations with one of the internes, and before graduating began taking cases as an undergraduate nurse for room and board and \$15.00 a week. This I call living wages. But she was not satisfied with it; she

wanted expensive dresses, underwear, furs, and she could not buy all these that she wanted on her income as an undergraduate nurse, so she began entering into sex relations with her patients in order to obtain the money for expensive clothes. About this time she noticed that working very hard as a nurse made her feel dizzy and nauseated, so she gave up nursing, and now lives entirely on what she makes by prostitution. An examination of her eyes revealed the reason for her becoming nauseated and dizzy while working as a nurse.

My wife divides the whole world into two classes: first, the people who are out after a good time; and, second, the people who want to make the world a better place because they are in it. Incidentally, the first class of people never do have a good time, whereas the second class are the happiest people in the world. Which reminds me of a story. Once upon a time a modern good Samaritan in an automobile was going along a lonely road in Nevada, when he saw what appeared to be a bundle of clothes lying some distance from the road. On investigation, it proved to be a man apparently dead, but on closer inspection he was found to be still breathing. He carried him into the automobile, took him to the nearest town and called in a doctor, and in two weeks' time the man recovered sufficiently to go back to his work. He said he had made considerable money in one of the gold mines, and had put his entire fortune in a belt around his waist. He had been followed by two men who, when he resisted robbing, had beaten him to insensibility, and left him for dead. Now that he was well, he announced his intention of going back to the mines and making another fortune. On his departure he said to the good Samaritan, "You will hear from me." A few days later an express package arrived, and inside this was a glass jar containing a semi-solid substance labelled "Happiness." No directions were given as regards the amount or frequency of the dose to be taken, so the good Samaritan took a teaspoonful three times a day for a month, at the end of which time he could not see that he was any happier than before. Whereupon he wrote to the man whom he had helped, "You are a great fraud. I have been very good to you, and in return for my kindness, you send me a jar which you say contains happiness. I have taken a teaspoonful



of it three times a day for a month, and I am no happier than I was before." In reply he received a telegram which said: "You fool, the way to be happy is to give happiness away."

That is true of us all. Can you imagine a person whose ideal of life is giving happiness away, ever becoming a criminal or a prostitute? And now for the physical factors in crime and prostitution. It is the deficient school child who goes out into the world and becomes a criminal, a dependent, or a prostitute. I have collected the histories of hundreds of these unfortunates, traced them back into the last educational institution that they attended, and have always found exactly the same starting point—a child who was deficient in school.

My last set of facts came from the Reformatory in Elmira, N. Y. Here we found in the boys not only a history of school deficiency, but exactly the same kind of deficiency which has manifested itself in the Reformatory. For example, if in the Reformatory we find that a boy is lazy, we find on investigation that he was lazy in school. If he was stupid in the Reformatory, he was stupid in school; and if he is incorrigible in the Reformatory, he was incorrigible in school. The same thing is true of the women between the ages of 18 and 30 at the New York Reformatory for Women, at Bedford, N. Y. Almost every inmate gives a history of school deficiencies. In the report of Dr. Goring, resident physician of the London Reformatory, we are informed that there is no such thing as a degenerate, no such thing as a criminal type, but that the only difference between criminals and other people is that criminals are more stupid. A deficient school child goes out into the world and becomes a failure industrially; having failed at honest industry, if he or she lacks courage he or she becomes a hopeless dependent. But the incompetent boy with courage turns to crime, and the incompetent girl with courage becomes a prostitute. In other words, some of our best material is wasted. It is no exaggeration to say that the reason a great many men never become criminals and a great many women never become prostitutes, is because of a lack of nerve.

Now, I have said that incompetence is the cause of criminality and prostitution. But what is the cause of incompetence in these people? What is it which makes one brother a success-

ful lawyer, dentist, or merchant, and another brother a failure at everything? What is it which makes one sister a successful dressmaker, milliner, saleswoman, or stenographer, and another sister a failure at every occupation? The answer to this is very simple: the incompetent one always has some physical or moral defect which is the cause of his or her incompetence. For example, Dr. William Healy, of the Chicago Institute for the Study of Juvenile Delinquents, once had a boy of fifteen under his care who came of a hard-working and industrious family. No other member of the family has ever gotten into trouble with the police, or made a livelihood in anything but an honest way. This boy had been like the rest of his family up to the time he had been fourteen, when he suddenly began to indulge in wantonly criminal acts. Several visits to Dr. Healy's office brought no results until at last the boy told the whole pitiful story. The year previous an older sister, an unmarried girl of about thirty, sent him upstairs on an errand, and was not very polite about it. He was just old enough to resent her manner to him, and said to her: "You must not talk to me as if you were my mother. You're my sister, and I don't have to obey you." She was angry enough to blurt out the truth, and said to him, "On the contrary, I am not your sister, I am your mother." And she was. This engendered in him the worst kind of an anti-social attitude. He decided that the whole world was a swindle, and that he was going to get what he could out of it by fair means or foul. This of course was an example of a moral factor in the making of a criminal.

Dr. Richards exhibited with running comment a series of slides which were projected on the screen, the object of which was to show that criminal and immoral tendencies in both men and women had developed from eyesight and other defects which had not been attended to in schooldays.

[*Monday, February 23rd, 1914*]

## A DEVELOPMENT POLICY FOR QUEBEC.

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BY DR. J. W. ROBERTSON

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I AM very glad to be here in Montreal and to speak to the members of the Canadian Club. I am delighted to find an old friend beside me as your Chairman, and to see so many old friends in the audience. They give me confidence and encouragement, for I am sure they will hear my talk with indulgence and friendly appreciation. My theme is also an old friend. For a long time I have been concerned with the development of Quebec. I remember making a speech nearly twenty-five years ago in the chamber of the Legislative Assembly on this very theme. I have lived and learned much since then, and I realize that before there can be any satisfactory progress in the development of farms and occupations, we must have a far better development of the people themselves. To-day I can only touch the high lights of a policy for the development of Quebec through and in its people.

I believe that this development will come through the systematic training of all the common people. I do not use the word common as meaning unworthy or even lowly. I mean God's people, made in His image, the work of His hands.

The training of all the people to be intelligent workers, contributing earners, good citizens and worthy members of the race is really the world's greatest movement at the present time. All the foremost nations are on the march. The campaign is against ignorance, inability and ill-wills. The hope is emancipation



## *A Development Policy for Quebec*

from poverty, disease and vice and the attainment of new and higher levels of happiness and power by all the people. One end will be, everybody chipping into the basket for the community's weal and nobody collecting or using community-created wealth for himself.

Canadians turn readily to questions of material growth and development. Their attention and imagination are captivated by wealth in things more than their hearts are stirred by the possession of power, with knowledge and desire to use it wisely. Hence the urgency for educational training, which will be adequate not only for material progress, but for the enjoyment of its achievements and for the real advancement of intellectual, social and spiritual interests and outlook. Such training imparts and develops power. The power to acquire and own things? Yes, certainly, and also the power to be somebody, to do something, and to leave something worth while when we are gone.

The meaning of development is to make the best use of things for the present and to leave them in the best condition for the future; to attain the best characters in the people themselves and to provide the best quality of life and opportunities for their successors.

The question may be asked: "What has Quebec to develop?" Only a few important things can be enumerated on any one occasion. Under the heading, material resources, we may include farms, mines, forests, manufactures, commerce and transportation; and, by means yet more important than the development of material things, is the making of homes and the carrying on of housekeeping.

The development of men and women for the carrying on and carrying out of all private, public and national undertakings is the most important duty at the present time pressing upon the people for discharge. It presses upon the people as individuals and communities and in their capacity as an organized provincial government. All worthy development of material things, all

real progress, depends in the final analysis upon the efficiency of individual men and women. The task before us is the development of the people themselves.

That which is required is that the individual worker shall possess intelligence, practical ability and co-operating good-will. These are not inherited; they are acquired by education and technical training. They have always been so acquired since the beginnings of civilization. In recent years changed and changing conditions have necessitated the development of a new system which has been called "Vocational Training."

Vocational is the oldest form and is still the highest form of education. It may be professional, as for clergymen, lawyers, doctors, civil engineers, etc., or it may be agricultural, industrial, marine, commercial, or for housekeeping occupations. In a general sense the word education includes vocational training, but in the more specific meaning of the term, vocational training means the development of general education by additions, modifications and extensions directed specifically to occupations. Hitherto the so-called educational ladder had only one place for its top, and that was a place where only a comparatively small number of men were required in the public interest. Hereafter the top of the ladder will be in every kind of institution where a man or a woman is needed, and where he or she can be advantageously trained for efficient service in agricultural work, in industrial work, commercial work or housekeeping work.

The institutions to be affected by this development are elementary schools, secondary schools and the higher institutions, such as colleges and universities. In the process of development all that is good shall be conserved, only that which is necessary should be added and provision made for all the people and all the occupations.

Occupations have always played a large part in the drama of civilization. This refers to the occupations of plain people as well as the training occupations of great personalities. In literature the great names are recorded with a statement also of the

occupation which was part of the experience of preparation for great and enduring social service. When one thinks of Abraham, Moses and David one is reminded of the farmer and keeper of sheep and how the race has been comforted and benefited by the words of the poem, "The Lord is my Shepherd." Shakespeare was an actor by occupation before he was a poet. Burns was a ploughman before he became the voice of the soul of a nation. Our whole civilization moves under the influence of the fishermen of Galilee, the tentmaker of Tarsus, and, above all, the carpenter of Nazareth, the Saviour of the world.

When properly trained for his job, one of the first effects observable is that the workman likes his work, understands it, has ability to do it well, and therefore is sure of obtaining reasonably good returns. The finest and highest of such developments is in the character of the man, in his managing ability and in the spirit and methods of co-operating with his fellow workers and others in the community.

The Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education visited 100 places in Canada, held 175 sessions to receive testimony, and made transcripts of the evidence of 1471 men and women. Some of these occupy the foremost positions in industries, agriculture, housekeeping, and educational work. The needs of the growing population of Canada, as stated by these witnesses may be summarized as follows:

- (1) Hand-training and pre-vocational education in the common schools after the age of twelve to reveal the bent of the child's ability to itself, to its parents and to its teacher.

- (2) Something in the school classes to induce boys and girls to continue at school as long as they can.

- (3) Some provision in the way of secondary industrial and technical education for those who can continue at school from twelve years of age until sixteen.

- (4) Continuation classes to be attended while young people are following some occupation to earn their living.



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(5) Evening classes for workmen and workwomen.

(6) Middle Technical schools to which men and women can come back for periods of from six months to two years after they have been working for some years.

In addition to these the witnesses presented the claims of the rural and fishing population for schools specially adapted to their needs. All were agreed upon the necessity for and the benefits to be derived from classes and schools for house-keeping occupations. Many witnesses recommended the establishment of Correspondence Study Classes by central institutions in Canada.

In recent years considerable additions have been made to elementary education by the introduction of Manual Training, Domestic Science and Nature Study with School Gardens. These are for cultural purposes. They give some preparation for the future occupations of the pupils and are carried on with advantage to their progress in other studies. The benefits claimed for prevocational classes in other countries are as follows:—They sustain the interest of the pupils in school work, they discover to pupils, teachers and parents, the bents, tastes and aptitudes of the scholars and they develop in them a preference for following some skilled employment. They make children desire further education after they have begun to partly earn their living. They do not hinder progress in other subjects of education.

In England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, France and Germany such classes or schools have made remarkable progress within the last ten years. In Scotland the growth has been from 162 schools, with 3,281 pupils, to 1,945 schools, with an attendance of 43,287 pupils, a growth of over twelve-fold in ten years. Within the last seven or eight years the movement has spread widely in England. Children from eleven to twelve years of age who intend leaving school at thirteen or fourteen go to schools or classes having what is known as an industrial bias, house-

keeping bias, etc. At these schools from one-third to one-half of the time is devoted to manual training. The schools do not teach a trade, but give a good preparation for the learning of a trade immediately after the children leave school.

In European countries these schools or classes do not displace general education. The courses themselves are called "Supplementary." This is the term used in Scotland and in France, where boys of twelve give about fifteen hours a week to general subjects and twenty hours to manual and constructive subjects. Girls in France enter these schools at about twelve years of age, and give one-half of the school time to general subjects and the other half to hand work in some form of vocational training.

After the hand work for boys was introduced into the schools of Munich, of the 2,200 boys who left school the first year thereafter, no less than 2,150 went at once into hand work in skilled employments. They then attended the continuation classes.

Such classes have so much increased the interest of boys and girls in their own continued education that in the city of Halifax, England, 65 per cent. of all the boys and girls who left school at 14 voluntarily came back for continuation classes in the evenings. In smaller places the attendance at these continuation vocational classes is as large as 5 per cent. of the total population of the town.

The cost of carrying on such newer branches of education as experimental science, manual training, domestic science, nature study and pre-vocational work with tools and materials is relatively high. These subjects were not contemplated at the time of Confederation when the Provinces accepted the responsibility of providing and maintaining education. In view of these facts, of the public benefit which would result from such studies and of the indispensable preparation which they would give for technical instruction, the Commission recommends that a fund of at least \$350,000 be provided by the Dominion Govern-

ment and paid to the several Provinces pro rata on the basis of the population. That amount is separate from and in addition to the sum of \$3,000,000 which the Commission recommends should be provided by the Dominion Parliament to assist the Provinces in providing industrial training and technical education for the youths of the Province after the age of fourteen.

The Commission in its inquiries abroad sought to learn all that would be useful to Canada without expecting to discover schools or systems which could be copied in their entirety in Canada with advantage. After a survey of what is being attempted in other countries, after intimate discussions with the leaders of education in those countries and a thorough study of the whole subject, the Commission endeavored to combine in the recommendations of its report the best features of each and all into a "Development Policy for Canada."\*

At several places in the United States the half-time plan of industrial education is proving satisfactory. According to it, the boys who are learning trades spend week about at the High School and the workshop. The course is one of four years. The first year is spent altogether at school, after which the pupil goes for two months as a probationary apprentice "to try out" the shop and be "tried out" by the foreman. After being accepted, he begins his three-year course. The boys work in pairs, and are together in the workshop on Saturdays. This enables the boy who has been at school during the week to pick up the work in the shop and go on with it without waste or loss Monday morning. While apprenticed, the boy is paid at the rate of 10 cents, 11 cents and 12½ cents per hour during each of the three years respectively. In the three years he earns \$552.

The Report states that this system develops better apprentices, better students, more skilled workers and better citizens. The boy whose parents are not very well off can continue his education; his interest in his education and

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\*(These provisions were discussed at some length by the speaker, who intimated that anyone sincerely interested in the work of the Commission could obtain a copy of the report by application to the Minister of Labor at Ottawa, to whom it had been addressed by the Commission.)



his self-respect are deepened and increased. At the end of his High School course he has a good trade, and can readily find a place and earn good wages. Boys generally stay to the end of the three year period. Foremen speak in the highest terms of the progress made by the boys. Employers are satisfied and entirely friendly. For some industries the half-time plan of industrial education is certainly the best, while in others it would not suit at all.

For the continued education of those who have gone to work, there are three kinds of schools in England, namely, Evening Schools, Part-time Day Schools and Full-time Day Technical Schools. The Evening Classes are very largely attended. No trouble is spared to make them easily accessible, attractive and efficient.

For example, in Leeds there are thirteen Branch Schools for the first year's work; seven where the second year's work is carried on, and four where the students do third year work, after which they attend the Municipal Technical College, with its nineteen Courses for the different occupations of the city.

In Manchester the first two years are provided for at numerous Evening Schools throughout the city; the second two years at Branch Technical Schools situated in district centres, while the fifth and sixth year's work is taken at the Municipal Technical Institute, attended by over 5,000 pupils. The total number attending Evening Classes is over 22,000, being 3.9 per cent. of the whole population of the city.

Taking England as a whole, there are over 6,000 Evening Schools, attended by over 800,000 pupils. Besides these, there are part-time Day Schools and full-time Day Technical Schools. The Universities also participate in the instruction of highly skilled workmen and foremen. For example, while the University of Sheffield is attended by 500 day students, it has 1,390 evening students. A practical atmosphere is preserved in all the schools, many of the teachers in the Technical Schools being men who have had trade experience.

Continuation Class work of a directly vocational kind has been in operation officially, under the Education Code, in Scotland since 1901. The increase in the attendance of pupils during 8 years was 63 per cent. When the Commission was in Scotland, these vocational classes were attended by 127,687 pupils. These are in addition to the 43,287 pupils in the Supplementary Vocational Classes in the public day schools. Funds from the National Treasury provide practically one-half of the cost of the Supplementary Classes and three-quarters of the cost of the Continuation Vocational Classes.

In Edinburgh the Continuation Classes are conducted in twenty-six schools three nights a week. They continue during three years, and lead up to Central Institutions, such as the Heriot-Watt Technical College, the College of Domestic Economy, the College of Art and the Agricultural College.

The city of Glasgow is a centre for this class of work for the South West of Scotland, in which district there are over 800 Continuation Classes. The more elementary classes are conducted at the smaller places. Scholarships are given to enable the pupils to attend Branch Centres. After they have exhausted the opportunities of these they may obtain scholarships at the Central Institutions of Glasgow.

When the Department of Technical Instruction in Ireland was constituted in 1899, there were only some three technical schools in all Ireland, and the attendance at industrial and technical classes was less than 2,000 pupils. By 1909-10 some 60 technical schools had been established, and over 42,000 pupils were enrolled in classes under technical schemes maintained jointly by the Department and the local authorities in 35 urban districts and 30 counties. In addition to that, 286 secondary schools receive special grants, from the Education Department at London, for work in experimental science, manual training, drawing and domestic science. Over 13,000 pupils participate in those classes.

In addition to the technical instruction for urban populations, there has been effective organization of agricultural instruction.

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The Department now employs 138 itinerant instructors in agriculture, horticulture, bee-keeping, poultry and butter-making. Besides these there are 43 Overseers and Assistant Overseers to assist small farmers who have obtained their holdings under the Land Purchase Act to begin well and to do well. In one district visited by the Commission the Overseer received a salary of £100 a year. It was claimed that the value of the crops grown by the farmers in his parish was £3,000 more than it would have been without his presence and instruction. Increased intelligence, practical ability and co-operating good-will were developed in the people themselves.

In Germany, technical education provides for three classes of careers: first, those of workmen; second, those of foremen and superintendents; and third, those of managers and technical engineers. Four grades of institutions provide for the instruction, namely: Industrial Continuation Schools, Lower Technical Schools, Middle Technical Schools and Technical High Schools.

The Industrial Continuation Schools are somewhat alike throughout the whole Empire. They give workers in industries and handicrafts some further qualification in the way of knowledge and technical training. Some of them are compulsory and others voluntary. Courses are provided to suit the multitudinous occupations of the people. In the city of Munich, special classes are provided for 52 trades. In every town of more than ten thousand inhabitants, attendance at these Continuation Schools for from four to eight hours weekly is compulsory for those between the ages of fourteen and seventeen.

At the time of the Commission's visit to Munich (population 580,000), where 52 trades were provided for in these Continuation Schools, they were attended by over 12,000 boys and young men. At the same time 11,200 girls and young women attended the Continuation Schools provided for them. This amounted to as much as 4 per cent. of the total population of the city. In addition, there were 10,000 young people attending the higher grade schools for general education.



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The city of Chemnitz, with a population of 290,000, has many large industries such as the manufacture of locomotives and agricultural implements, cotton spinning, linen weaving and glove-making. It provides an admirable example of the organization of technical education. It has altogether 29 technical schools. For over 40 years attendance of all young men between the ages of fourteen and seventeen has been required for at least 4 hours weekly. Apprentices receive all their instruction in the day time, usually in a continuous forenoon session of school of 4 or 5 hours. The aim of these Continuation Schools is to increase the knowledge and efficiency of the student as a producer and to make him a better citizen. At the time of the Commission's visit, the attendance was 14,000 students, being equal to 5 per cent. of the population of the city. Besides the Continuation Schools there are in Chemnitz the Technical Institute, with 5 departments, having an attendance of 1,253 students, and a Higher Weaving School, with 7 departments, having an attendance of 510 students.

The growth of vocational industrial education in Prussia during 25 years has been most noteworthy. The following tables illustrate the numerical growth, although nothing but personal observation and examination can convey to one an adequate idea of the growth in interest and efficiency.

		Number	Pupils
Continuation Classes . . . . .	1884	664	58,400
“ “ . . . . .	1909	2,100	360,000
Secondary Technical Schools	1884	56	8,000
“ “ “ . . . . .	1909	218	44,000

Of the 44,000 pupils, 40,000 were following 2-year courses.

In addition to these, there were 35 Schools of Navigation, and 53 Schools of Mining.

In the 1880's, before this movement for improved vocational training came into effect, the emigration from Germany was

about 200,000 a year; now it is between 20,000 and 30,000 a year. On the other hand, there is an immensely larger migration into Germany than even into Canada. The reports indicate that about twice as many migrate into Germany from other parts of Europe as come into Canada from all quarters.

The very large attendance at the vocational evening and day classes in other countries is attributed to two main factors: first, the satisfying experiences of the pupils during the last year or two at the public school; second, the influence of vocational guidance committees and individuals. From one Central School at London, with pre-vocational handwork during two years, 70 per cent. of the boys go into skilled occupations after leaving school at fourteen or fifteen years of age. From a Trade Preparatory School at Leeds, 90 per cent. of the boys go into skilled occupations. At Halifax, England, 65 per cent. of all the boys and girls who leave school at 14 come back voluntarily for continued education after beginning to work. In London over 160,000 pupils, or 3 1-3 per cent. of the total population, attend evening classes. In Manchester, 22,362 pupils, or 3.9 per cent. of the population of the city, attend evening classes. In Edinburgh, with a population of 320,000, there are no less than 3,500 persons, including teachers, engaged in promoting the work of education. Beginning with 11 centres, and an average attendance of 410 pupils, the Vocational Continuation Classes are now attended by over 10,000 pupils. The average attendance of those enrolled has not fallen below 90 per cent. at any time during the last 10 years. There are altogether 821 classes and 421 teachers, of whom 299 are employed during the day in the industries of the city. Whereas the population of Edinburgh has increased 36 per cent. during the last 30 years, the amount provided by the city through school rates has been increased during the same time 490 per cent.

In Germany, the efficiency of education and the desire for continued education are very much strengthened by the general employment of male teachers for boys over ten years of age. In all public elementary schools throughout Germany there are 122,145 male teachers and 22,339 women teachers. In the King-

dom of Prussia, in all public schools, elementary and secondary, the proportions are as follows:—in cities and towns, 43,604 men and 11,860 women teachers; in rural districts, 59,160 men and 5,924 women teachers.

In six cities cited, the ratio of attendance at Vocational Continuation Classes varied from 3.1 per cent. to 5 per cent. of the population. If Montreal could achieve the lowest ratio, the attendance would be 14,570 pupils, and if it later advanced to equality with Chemnitz in Saxony, or Hawick in Scotland, the classes would be attended by 23,500 pupils. This would be in addition to the pupils attending ordinary High Schools and other places for secondary general education.

In making an estimate of the probable cost of maintaining an adequate system of Industrial Training and Technical Education, the Commission considered the populations and needs of 566 places in Canada, besides the rural population in the counties. These places varied from large cities like Montreal and Toronto to incorporated villages of more than 500 people, and contained a total population of 2,790,000. In these urban communities, the number of persons between fourteen and seventeen years of age, who were not attending any day schools, is estimated at 150,000. If these 150,000 young people lived in any of the 6 places which have been referred to in this address, over 112,000 of them would be attending Vocational Continuation Schools, whereas at the present time in Canada, less than 12,000 of them do so.

In rural districts the number of young people is still greater. Their need is as great as that of the urban population, and the benefit to them and to the country as a whole would be no less in their case than in the case of those in towns and cities.

(As an example of what is practicable under Canadian conditions for the improvement of agriculture, Dr. Robertson cited some specific cases from the Illustration Farms carried on under the Committee on Lands of the Commission of Conservation.)



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These Illustration Farms were chosen by groups of farmers themselves. The Illustration Farmer is the one who has agreed to carry on his farm work for his personal advantage and for the improvement of the farming of the neighborhood. He receives about six visits per year from counsellors employed by the Commission of Conservation. The members of the Neighbourhood Improvement Association of the locality also go over his farm twice a year and discuss with him the methods of growing crops and the management of the business.

In Waterloo County, Ont., as the result of after-harvest cultivation carried out as advised, the Illustration Farmer reported a yield of fifteen bushels of oats per acre more than the yield on the other part of the same field managed in the old way. He reported an increase of three tons of sugar beets per acre, worth \$16. Other Illustration Farmers reported increases of oats of from eight to ten bushels per acre. One farmer in eastern Ontario reported that his crop of roots for stock feeding purposes was two-thirds greater on the part of the field managed according to the suggestions of the Commission of Conservation than on the remainder of the field. In brief, in the Province of Ontario, the reports of the Illustration Farms show that the farmers themselves, on the areas which they managed according to the recommendations of the Commission, obtained an average of about \$10 per acre of profit above what they were making by the old methods—\$10 per acre of increase in profit, not in gross revenue. There are five Illustration Farms in the Province of Quebec.

The Report recommends special provisions for Industrial Training and Technical Education under three main headings—"for those who are to continue at school in urban communities," "for those who have gone to work in urban communities" and "for rural communities." Some of the provisions already exist, as for example, in the day and evening technical classes in Montreal and at different places throughout the Province. The proposal is that such as these are to be extended to meet all the needs of all the workers and occupations.

In this and all the other Provinces there is substantial evidence of progress. The Provincial Governments are not only respond-

ing to the demands made on them as far as their revenues permit, but they are leading, encouraging and guiding the local communities. Where most progress has been made in general education, there vocational education is the most wanted. The needs are chiefly three—money, specific information and enlightened public opinion. Hitherto support has come from local rates, county grants and Provincial grants.

The Royal Commission recommends that hereafter these should be supplemented by a substantial annual grant from the Dominion Treasury for the specific purpose of the development of the people of Canada through industrial training and industrial education.

The opinions of those who appeared before the Commission were unanimous as to the need of financial assistance in some form from the Dominion Government. The form in which it should be provided was not defined, but the Commission presented an outline of a policy by which co-operation between the Dominion and the Provinces might be effected without the least interference with the control of education by the Provincial Governments as provided for by the British North America Act. The chief principles which the Commission stated as governing their recommendations were as follows.

The Commission is of the opinion that industrial training and technical education in order to be of the greatest benefit to individuals, to industrial development, to localities, to the several Provinces, and to the Dominion as a whole, should be organized and maintained in accordance with the following principles:

- (1) It should be under Provincial control and regulation.
- (2) It should receive financial support from individuals, from local authorities, from Provincial Governments and from the Dominion.
- (3) Provision should be made for active participation in its control, management and direction by individuals in the locality who would represent industries as employers and employees,

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agriculture, women's occupations, particularly housekeeping, business and organized education.

The revenues of the several Provinces for all purposes are derived, at the present time, to the extent of some eleven and one-quarter million dollars, from subsidies from the Dominion. The several Provinces, from their comparatively slender revenues have to maintain public service of prime importance. On them falls the administration of justice, and the maintenance of civil rights. The care of the public domain as well as roads and bridges is a charge on their purse. They are responsible for the organization and supervision of municipal government. And it is claimed in most of them that their payments for the organization, administration and support of general education are as large as they can afford. None of these Provincial services can be neglected or starved without severe national injury. All the Provinces are doing about all they can with the means they have. Where is the money to come from for this new, important and highly advantageous public service by means of vocational training? The Royal Commission recommends that in addition to any other subsidy that may be provided, the sum of \$3,000,000 per annum should be granted as a Dominion Development Fund to be spent by the local and Provincial authorities co-operating with the Dominion authorities for the purposes indicated. The Dominion Government has already indicated its ability and readiness to co-operate with the Provinces for development work, as shown in the Agricultural Instruction Act of 1912-13, whereby a sum aggregating \$10,000,000 was provided, the expenditure to be spread over a period of ten years.

Under the policy recommended by the Commission, there would be two Dominion Development Funds to aid technical instruction and training, one of \$350,000 a year to promote pre-vocational training by means of experimental science, manual training, drawing, domestic science, and nature study, and the other of \$3,000,000 annually to supplement local efforts in providing vocational education for those who are past public school age.

The people of Quebec could draw from these funds to the extent of over \$800,000 annually, besides receiving from Dominion



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authorities the co-operation and advisory help of highly trained and experienced conusellers in starting new kinds of schools, as, for example, for textile workers, and in the development of new industries.

In Quebec there are 18 towns and cities, each with a population of over 5,000. The following list indicates in round figures to what extent such cities and towns in Quebec might receive assistance annually from the Dominion Fund for the purpose of maintaining suitable classes:

Montreal . . . . .	\$180,000
Quebec . . . . .	32,000
Maisonneuve . . . . .	7,200
Hull . . . . .	7,200
Sherbrooke . . . . .	6,500
Westmount . . . . .	5,600
Three Rivers . . . . .	5,200
Verdun . . . . .	4,500
Lachine . . . . .	4,000
Ste. Hyacinthe . . . . .	3,800
Valleyfield . . . . .	3,700
Sorel . . . . .	3,300
Levis . . . . .	2,900
Thedford Mines . . . . .	2,800
Fraserville . . . . .	2,600
Joliette . . . . .	2,500
St. John's . . . . .	2,300
Chicoutimi . . . . .	2,300

The Commission believes that the best course for Canada to follow is for the Dominion Government to secure definite responsibility for a proportion of the burden of expense for this new and important national movement. Then as the burden grows and the cost is correspondingly increased, the load will be carried easily by the broadest, strongest back. The policy does not involve the assumption of any control or any regulation of education by the Dominion authorities. No question is raised

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which involves any interference. Provisions are suggested by means of which hearty and friendly and mutually helpful co-operations can be entered upon and continued. The only new machinery suggested is such as may be necessary for co-operation entered upon by mutual consent.

The carrying out of the policy would mean not only the development of manufacturing industries, of commerce and natural resources, but the development of individuals, of communities, of Provinces and of the whole Dominion. The fruits would be found in the circumstances and homes of the people and in the residuum of intelligence, practical ability and goodwill. From the wise use of over-widening opportunities and growing prosperity there would come greater power and deeper satisfactions. Canada would have entered upon the path which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

[*March and, 1914.*]

## THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW QUEBEC BRIDGE.

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By C. N. MONSARRAT,

Chairman and Chief Engineer, Board of Engineers, Quebec Bridge.

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**A**S early as 1852 a project for a bridge over the St. Lawrence River at Quebec was considered, and again in 1884 a design was prepared and submitted to the Quebec Board of Trade for a bridge at about the present site; but nothing was actually done until about 1900, when the Quebec Bridge & Railway Company located a site near Cap Rouge and took definite steps towards the erection of such a structure. This location is at the narrowest point on the St. Lawrence River between Montreal and Quebec, the width at mean water level being about 2000 feet. The water at this point has a maximum depth of about 200 feet and a current at ebb tide of about seven miles per hour. The Quebec Bridge & Railway Company awarded contracts in 1900 for a bridge of the cantilever type, having a main span of 1800 feet. Work was started, and proceeded until the year 1907, when about half the superstructure then erected collapsed. Soon after this lamentable disaster the Dominion Government undertook to reconstruct the bridge, and in 1908 appointed a board of three engineers for that purpose. This board made very exhaustive studies of various designs, including suspension and cantilever bridges, and finally decided, for good and sufficient reasons, that the cantilever type of bridge was the most satisfactory and economical kind of structure for such a crossing. It also decided that the bridge should be much wider and heavier and designed for heavier loading than the former bridge, and that the same length of main span should be retained and that it should be built at the same site. Several changes were made



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in the personnel of this Board during the progress of the work. It is not necessary to deal with the reasons which led up to these changes—suffice it to say that since the contracts were let the board has been composed of Mr. Ralph Modjeski, one of the foremost consulting bridge engineers of the West, Mr. C. C. Schneider, of Philadelphia, past president of the American Society of Civil Engineers, and perhaps the best known authority on bridge engineering in America, and the speaker as chairman and chief engineer.

Among the first things to be done in connection with the reconstruction was to take an extensive series of borings to ascertain the nature of the bottom and locate bed rock, which was found to exist about one hundred feet below high water. It was also decided that the old masonry was not large enough to suit the new structure, and it was therefore demolished and entirely new piers built.

The clearing away of the debris of the fallen structure was a somewhat difficult task, but it was finally accomplished by means of the oxy-acetylene torch and dynamite, and at the present time there is little or no evidence to show that this accident had ever happened. There still remain, however, eight or ten thousand tons of the old bridge at the bottom of the river extending out from the shore between 800 and 900 feet. Tied down by this wreckage are the remains of some sixty or seventy men who lost their lives when the accident took place. As the water at this point is very deep, and the wreckage is far below the requirements of navigation, this steel will probably remain in its present location until the end of time, as there is no known method of salvage at the depth at which it lies.

The most serious problem in the construction of the masonry was the sinking of the pneumatic caissons for the two main piers. On the south side a single caisson 180 feet by 55 feet in area was used. On the north side two caissons each 80 feet by 60 feet were sunk with a ten-foot space between them, the pier being bridged over this opening. No serious difficulty was met with in the sinking of these caissons, although the material on the north shore was very much harder to penetrate than that of the south.

The completed main piers at the present time, extending as they do about twenty-five feet above the water, do not give

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evidence of the enormous amount of labor expended in their construction. As the north pier was driven sixty feet and the south pier one hundred feet below the bed of the river and cost approximately \$1,000,000 each, some idea of their enormous proportions may be obtained.

The anchor piers show up more prominently, being entirely above high water. These piers are 136 feet long and 29 feet wide and extend about 140 feet above the surface of the ground, or higher than a ten-story office building.

The span of the Quebec Bridge is 1800 feet between main piers—the longest of any bridge in the world—being 100 feet longer than that of the famous Forth bridge in Scotland. The length of the suspended span is 640 feet and the total length between abutments 3239 feet. The bridge has a clear height of 150 feet above extreme high water for a distance of 700 feet at the centre of the bridge, in order to allow passage of ocean ships beneath. The bridge is 88 feet wide, centre to centre of trusses, or twenty one feet wider than the old bridge. The height of the main posts over the main pier is 310 feet, with an unsupported length of 145 feet. These posts weigh 1500 tons each, the four of them costing in the neighborhood of \$1,000,000. The height of the bridge above the floor at the main piers is about 180 feet. Some idea of the enormous proportions of this bridge may be gathered from the fact that a sixteen-story building could rest on the floor at this point and not extend above the tops of the main posts.

The steel shoe or pedestal carrying the main posts and other members on the main pier has a base with an area of approximately twenty-two by twenty-six feet and is nineteen feet high and weighs about 400 tons. Many a family lives in a house considerably smaller. The total reaction on each of these shoes amounts to 55,000,000 pounds. Some idea of this enormous weight may be gathered from the fact that it represents the weight of 150 standard locomotives. If these locomotives were placed one upon the other they would extend to a height fifteen times that of an ordinary ten-story building.

The bottom chord of the bridge weighs approximately 400 tons between main panel points. This has to be shipped in four pieces for shipment and handling during erection. The

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outside dimension of this chord near the shoe is approximately seven feet by ten feet six inches. If it were not for the interior diaphragms and bracings it would be possible for six or seven men to walk abreast throughout the length of this member.

The main post, as stated before, is 310 feet high, centre to centre of pines, and is approximately nine feet by ten feet in outside dimensions, and has an area of 1902 square inches. It is composed of four columns laced together, and requires to be shipped in twenty-seven pieces and connected together in the field. The weight of the bridge will amount to about 65,000 tons, which weight exceeds that of the 200 bridges constructed on the National Transcontinental Railway. These bridges, if placed end to end, would extend over a distance of eleven miles. This weight is also about five times that of the double track Canadian Pacific Railway bridge over the St. Lawrence at Lachine.

A proportion of the steel used in the bridge will be nickel-steel, which is forty per cent. stronger than the ordinary carbon steel used in other bridges. This nickel-steel is used principally near the centre of the bridge, where the weight is the greatest factor in deciding the size of the member.

The bridge is designed to carry two railway tracks, capable of carrying two trains weighing approximately 5000 pounds per lineal foot each. There are also two sidewalks for foot passengers. No provision has been made for highway traffic.

New shops have been constructed by the St. Lawrence Bridge Company exclusively for the manufacture of this bridge, with special equipment and handling machinery, the whole costing in the neighborhood of \$1,000,000. Up to the present some 8,000 or 9,000 tons of material have been manufactured and shipped to the site.

During the past season the contractor for the superstructure has got his plant in shape and has already erected the two north approach spans from the abutments out to the anchor pier. It is expected that during the coming season practically the whole of the north anchor arm will be erected.

The erection of this bridge is probably one of the greatest problems, and calls for more engineering skill than any other



structure of its kind in the world. Every detail of erection, from the placing of the members to the driving of the rivets, is worked out in detail and is supplied in printed form in a bound book to the erecting superintendent. All engineering problems are therefore solved for the erection force before they start, their duty being simply to carry out the mechanical end of the work in accordance with positive instructions. To handle the huge members on the bridge itself during erection enormous steel travelers will be used, one on each side of the river, each of which, with its machinery, will weigh over 1000 tons. One steel traveler is at the present time nearing completion on the north shore. All the cranes and derricks on this traveler are operated by electricity. The traveler runs on trucks and is moved from point to point on the bridge as the work progresses. This derrick is capable of lifting fifty-five tons on a boom fifty feet long. Everything about the mechanism and machinery has been made as nearly foolproof as possible.

In order that there may be no possibility of these heavy members being dropped and doing damage to the bridge or endangering lives, it is necessary to operate the hoisting engines against an electric resistance, which means that the engines have to work just as hard to lower a piece as is necessary to raise it. Some idea of the size of the tackle used may be gained from the fact that the large blocks employed are about five feet in height, and weigh approximately 500 tons each. One of the features of the erection which will probably be unique in the annals of bridge engineering will be the floating in of the centre or suspended span. This span will weigh about 500 tons and will be erected on trestles at some point near the bridge. When it is ready to be floated, very large pontoons will be floated under the span at low tide, and, when the tide rises, will lift the entire span off the blocks. It will then be floated into position under the two ends of the cantilever arm and at low level be connected up to these arms with long steel links. During this operation all navigation will be stopped in the river. When the connection has been made at the four corners, at extreme high tide, the barge will settle with the tide and will leave the span suspended. Powerful jacks of 2000 tons capacity situated at each corner of the cantilever arm will then be brought into play and this span brought slowly into

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place. It is estimated that the connecting up of the span should not take over an hour under good conditions, and the span itself should be lifted into its proper position in about forty-eight hours.

By erecting the span in this manner about one year is saved in the building of the bridge.

It is expected that the bridge will be sufficiently completed to allow traffic to proceed over it by the end of 1917.

[*March 5th, 1914.*]

## THE LABOR SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By GARDNER WILLIAMS.

I COME to you today to speak upon a question that has arisen in South Africa during the past and the present year. Before going into my subject I may be allowed to make a few remarks on the labor question from the early days. I went to South Africa in the summer of 1884, when the railroad was 500 miles north of Cape Town, and from there travelled to the north to reach the mine that I had set out to take charge of.

The labor at that time consisted of white men for bosses. The mechanics were naturally white men and the shovelling and manual labor was done by natives. The time of going to work was six o'clock in the morning. The men went to the mine but did nothing, and came down to breakfast, in that way wasting a good deal of time and doing very little work, generally speaking. Then the hours of work were changed. They started work at seven o'clock and adopted the same hours for summer work as for winter work. Going to Kimberley, I started the same hours there for workshops, and all around, except at the mines, where I found the conditions very bad, as far as the labor underground was concerned. Men were working twelve-hour shifts, two shifts. You can well imagine that it is almost impossible for a man to work twelve hours. But it had this redeeming quality, that everybody was a boss and not doing very much hard work himself; and the natives, instead of working twelve hours, worked by the task; when the task was finished they went home. Many went into the mines at six and left at twelve o'clock, so that the hours were not quite as bad as they seemed.

However, a deputation of men came to me and asked that we make it an eight-hour day, on the understanding that, if we found it did not pay to operate the mine in this way, they were willing to go back to twelve hours. I said: "If you ever



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have an eight-hour day you'll never go back to twelve; ten, maybe, but never twelve." But from that time on an eight-hour day was established and everything has gone remarkably well.

We had no trouble to amount to anything during my time. Ten men behaved a little badly, and their bosses discharged them. One man, now a prominent man, and a leader of labor unions, left in the middle of a shift and never went back to work again. This was the only labor trouble I had with white men. We had trouble now and then with the natives. They are queer people—like a lot of children. They called me once at five o'clock in the morning and I found a portion of them on strike. I went there and had no influence whatever with them. They wanted the man who owned the mine to come, so I sent over for Rhodes. He came over, and, after he had spent an hour, I saw there was no use fooling away time, so I called in the guards and armed police. They put everybody into their houses, and that ended the strike. A few of those things happened, but they adjusted themselves.

Drinking was very prevalent in the early times, and on Monday morning about fifty per cent. of the natives (and there were thousands) were drunk. On Tuesday there were a few less, on Wednesday a few less and by Thursday they had begun to straighten out and work. This condition prevailed for many years. The labor question in Cape Town and on the farms and all around that section was as bad as could be. Dutch and English pay their labor partly in brandy, so that on Saturday when they are paid everybody is on the drunk. The country produces brandy and someone must consume it, so the laborers are the ones that are looked to to accomplish this.

(At this point Mr. Williams showed and commented upon a number of interesting slides.)

At Johannesburg the labor difficulty has been very acute for a long time. But in the serious troubles of last year there were not so many miners as riff-raff. They burned the railway station, burned the *Star* building, and they were making great progress when the mounted police were called out, the reserves and a good many of the regulars from England. These stretched ropes and made a dead line, and, when they got them quieted down, nineteen men had been killed. Then they had a meeting

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with the Government, and General Smuts met them and signed an agreement of some kind which they now, in their last utterance, say was something that never ought to have been signed; but they thought this the easiest way out of it at the time. They agreed to put all the men back and discharge all the men who had taken their places and send them away, which they did at a cost of £15,000; so that the condition of things was very acute—exceedingly so. The labor leaders then promised that that was only the beginning, that they would have a labor government and that they would rule South Africa—that labor was going to rule. They said that the Government, in order to carry out the laws, had police, but that they would use any means whatever.

Finally, there was only one way out of it. You must remember that it was not a strike they were after, it was a revolution, because if they had carried out their designs they would have captured the place. They sent some men to the Dundee Coal Mines. The men went out on strike there; and there followed a railway strike in the Transvaal and in the Orange River Colony. Now, that strike was started, of course, with a view to paralyzing the whole industry of South Africa. Imagine what that means. There are 250,000 natives at work in Johannesburg. It means turning these men loose in a town of 100,000 white people, to stop the food coming in, to stop supplies—in other words, to paralyze South Africa from one end to the other. That was the condition of things that they were trying to bring about and, if you realize that the natives had given trouble in times gone by, and that the whole white population of South Africa amounts to about one and a quarter million, you can see what effect this would have had. Anarchy would have been turned loose and nobody's life would have been safe.

When the Government declared martial law, they turned out 100,000 men there. They paid them for the time they served, and if they are wanted again they will be turned out again.

They were convinced that if it were not for the labor unions, and if they would send twenty men out of the country, peace would be restored and work would go on as it ought to go on. Twenty bad men can do a great deal of damage, and so the question came under martial law. They sent nine men away and passed a law that they can deport anybody. That law was passed

## *The Labor Situation in South Africa*

by a vote, with only fifteen dissentients, in the Cape Legislature. Both Briton and Boer are voting together on this question, and there is no other solution to it. When this strike ends there will not be another one in this generation. South Africa will be prosperous, the mines will produce an enormous amount of money, anywhere from thirty-five to forty millions of dollars worth of gold; and so all these industries will go on a good footing, because there will be some security that, when they start work, it can be carried on without all this interruption.

Another point you must remember is that the South African Government gets ten per cent. of all the profits from the Johannesburg diamond mines. So you see there is some reason why they should protect their own interests and at the same time protect the interests of the others.

I do not believe there is going to be any further trouble. General Smuts is an excellent man, an educated man, a Cambridge graduate. Rhodes was very fond of him. General Smuts was one who said he found it very humiliating to sign what they did at the time of the trouble last July.

That is the situation, and I hope you will not think I am prejudiced in one way or the other. I do not want to go into the political side of the issue, but had the English held the Transvaal in Gladstone's time there would have been no trouble, and you would have been saved this lecture today.

They have taken a determined step in quelling this disturbance in South Africa, and they are right. You cannot live under agitated conditions for any great length of time; and it is a great deal better that the present Government shall run South Africa than that these men should come in and drive us out of the country. Talk about deporting—if labor had captured all South Africa, nobody would have been safe. But the Government turned out 100,000 men, more than they did at the beginning of the Boer war, some of them within twenty-four hours. They came ready to fight and they were paid off and will go out again, not to create a disturbance, but to quell disturbances, should they arise. Whether Boer or Briton, they will turn out if trouble should break out again.



[*March 9, 1914*]

## CANADA'S UNDEVELOPED LITERARY RESOURCES

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By BECKLES WILLSON

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IT is an amiable habit of Canadians, both at home and abroad, to complain of the average Englishman's lack of knowledge of Canada. We find a never-ending source of entertainment or indignation, according to our several temperaments, in the too-prevalent blunders concerning our geography, population, customs or climate. Knowledge of this Dominion of ours is commonly assumed to lie chiefly in a statistical direction, in facts relating to our cities and public men; newspapers and our railways—to the externals of life.

But surely these misapprehensions are venial—they are the mere minutiae of ignorance. What does it matter if an Englishman, with his vivid and always expensive interest in an Empire of some twelve or fifteen million square miles, fondly imagines that Cape Breton is on the mainland, that a tramway connects Montreal with Winnipeg, or that they build ice-palaces in Vancouver? I would rather a thousand times that Canadians exchanged knowledge of this kind for an understanding of truths more vital, of the things pertaining to the heart and soul of the nation. We may laugh at a foreigner's blunders, but let us sometimes ask ourselves (always in the safe and sheltered retreat of the Canadian Club) if we, as Canadians, know Canada, as, let us say, a Swede knows Sweden, or a Scot knows Scotland—know the truths of our own origin and annals, our own natural history, our flora and fauna, as well as those facts of another kind which, it seems to me, ought also to be known, the fruits, not of our farms and orchards, but of our inner life, our literature and our art?

## *Canada's Undeveloped Literary Resources*

In a substantial and somewhat sequestered building at Ottawa there are housed the priceless ingredients of our natural history. Thanks to the knowledge, the industry and the ability of my friend, Dr. Arthur Doughty, the Dominion Archivist, treasure after treasure is constantly being added to that already vast collection. Nothing that can illumine our annals, from Jacques Cartier's era to that of Lord Strathcona, State papers, private letters, old journals and diaries, paintings, drawings, engravings, maps, the net is spread far and wide, and everything of interest is garnered within those four walls to illustrate the story of Canada. And what a truly wonderful collection it is! How inspiring and yet how simply diverting, even for the hurrying man in the street, even for the young children! And yet, ladies and gentlemen, if you have ever stood on Scutari Point or on Cape North, looking in silence and solitude towards "all the airts that blaw," you will have gained some idea, faint it may be, but not ineffective, of the silence and the solitude of that national treasure-house at Ottawa at high noon. A Cabinet Minister of high rank startled me the other day by confessing that even he, although somewhat closely concerned, had never once crossed the portals. I have met Canadians wandering about the British Museum gazing spell-bound at manuscripts and mementoes, who had never even heard of this museum at Ottawa. And yet I would engage to take a youthful specimen of a Canadian boy and hold his delighted attention for at least an hour with the pictures and relics there. How can we possibly know Canada when we habitually neglect such sources of self-knowledge and education as these?

I have spoken of the Archives as full of the ingredients of history. Those bulky annual reports of the Archivist for the past thirty years are something more than that. I could easily demonstrate to you that they are full of the ingredients—the raw material—of poetry and romance as well.

Now, at the risk of being thought unpractical, I say that poetry is what we want in this country, that romance is what we all need in our daily lives. "I pity the man," wrote Sterne, "who can travel from Dan to Beersheba and cry, 'All is barren.'" And so it is and so is all the world to him who will not cultivate the fruits it offers. Romance concerns the deeps, the fierce struggle, the pathos, the aspirations, the adventures, the color

of life. No land could be explored and settled as ours as been, no people could so have adventured into the wilderness without heroism, love, suffering, romance. How much this romance adds to a country, peoples it with good spirits, invests it with associations, endears it to those who dwell in it and call it home! You are shown a village, or a hill, or a lake, or a river, and you immediately see it with the eye of the mind, of the memory; it is connected with romance and it straightway becomes transfigured and glorified. It is Shelburne plus an ideal Shelburne with its pageant of Loyalists, such as Haliburton beautifully describes in "The Old Judge," or Annapolis Royal redolent of the seventeenth century. Or it may recall legendary or poetic associations, some character none the less real because he or she never actually lived, some event that never observed what has been called the cheap formality of taking place. For if the hero or the legend has been consecrated by the love and faith of generations of men and women, that makes it real for us, that constitutes romance. Think of old Scotland, how bleak, how ineffably bleak and barren much of it would be without its myths and legends and ballads, without the fruits of the genius of Scott and Burns.

We, then, have our history and our romance; we have our legends, our traditions, our ballads; I well believe that these are cherished by the members of the Canadian Club; but I would say to every Canadian man and woman—Do you know our history and our literature? Do you know the stirring deeds enacted by our sires and forerunners? Do you sit around the fire on a winter's night and tell them to your children? If you take a pleasure and a pride in these things, how much richer you are, how much more attractive your native land seems to you, how much more love you bear it in your hearts, how much prouder you are of it!

You will say that, of course, it is my business, as a writer, dealing occasionally with historical themes, and the business of a handful of others sailing, as it were, in the same boat with myself, to make ourselves acquainted with these things, to read these Archivist's reports, to dig out these memorabilia,—that it is natural for us to derive even entertainment from the process, but that it is unreasonable to ask a man of affairs, a busy clerk



in a store or office, a weary farmer or artisan to delve into these records in the hope of finding amusement or relaxation. Well, I agree to that. I agree that it is the function of the historian and romancier and the poet to search diligently for and smelt out the pure gold from all this ore and carry it to the assay office of public opinion. I agree that it was for these few and not directly for the many that such institutions as the Archives were established and are now being maintained. But let us give them credit, let us understand at least the beneficent work they are doing in binding the scattered fragments of our past together and in stimulating the national consciousness, let us take a due pride in those labors, and, moreover, let those whose talents lie that way be encouraged to use them for our advantage, for the enlightenment of foreign nations concerning us, and for our national character and renown.

Sometimes I think the great mistake we make is in regarding ourselves habitually as a new people, and this Canada of ours as a new country. We are an old country, and this portion that you and I inhabit is the oldest part of this old country. Nine-tenths of Russia, seven-eighths of America, are new countries, Australia is a new country, New Zealand is a new country, South Africa is a new country, but Canada has long and storied centuries behind her. When you read the narratives of Champlain and Lescarbot and remember the raw and barren conditions of most of Europe over three centuries ago, when mariners were beating up our coasts and courtiers were building our first forts and holding revel in our forests, you see what a mighty transformation has come over the universe since Port Royal and Quebec were founded. Why, gentlemen, the whole universe is a new world. And we can go back to a previous century, to Jacques Cartier, a generation from Columbus, and Columbus was born and lived his life in the Middle Ages!

And not only are there these three centuries of history, but something might well be urged on behalf of the character and quality of our history. It is not only full of great events, but think of the vast sum of individual activities! It is not like the chronicles of Poland or Portugal, the uprising and downfall of one tyrant after another, while peasant and serf remain benighted and inert, but an epic of a whole people, a people constantly achieving real

things in the face of moral and physical obstacles, of tens of thousands faring forth into the wilderness, animated, it may be, by pure sentiment, the reverse of battle, or in a spirit of adventure.

Canada's imagination, I have heard someone say, is principally confined to the prospectuses of land and mining companies. They do not hesitate to tell us that, because we are a northern country, because we dwell for certain seasons of the year in low temperatures and amidst snow and ice, that we must necessarily remain an unpoetical, an unromantic and an inartistic people. Was there ever such a fallacy? Northern countries! why, they are producing to-day the greater part of the literature, the best paintings, the best music, and even the finest terpsichorean art of the world. Why, have they forgotten that Thorwaldsen, the peer of Canova, was an Iclander! It is not to Italy and Spain and Greece that the world is looking for masterpieces in the arts, but to Russia and Germany and Norway. The isothermal line of genius has been moved northward a few latitudes, and romance has deserted the Spanish Main and the South Sea Islands for the North and the South Pole. There is no reason, climatological or racial, why Canada should not be not only an artistic country, but the seat of the world's art, the centre of the world's literature. One would have thought that certain philosophers would tire of affixing labels on people and things, of imagining that you can exhaust a nation's possibilities by a phrase. You remember they said that Scotland was an inartistic country, that it could never produce a good painter and it sounded very plausible until art came to be taught north of the Tweed and the latent qualities of the Scottish people were educated—drawn out—and then what happened? Why, only last year, at the Royal Academy, in London, I heard a young English painter complaining that more than half the prosperous members of the Academy were Scotchmen (I fear he used an improper adjective), and that if he himself had been blessed with a Mac to his name, his pictures would have been as much in demand as those of MacWhirter or Hunter or Orchardson or Graham or Andrew Gow or David Murray. Here is a change indeed! And *apropos* of supposed national limitations, I am tempted to refer, in parenthesis, to another striking change. Some of us who are approach-

ing fifty may recall the time when there was supposed to be no more humour in Scotland than there were snakes in Ireland. Whether it was that Calvin had exorcised the one as rigorously as St. Patrick is said to have done the other, I know not, but the general opinion was that the Scotch possessed an inherent incapacity for rollicking fun and light-hearted drollery. Suddenly, it appeared that the Scotch were the drollest race in Europe—I will not trouble you with a list of their achievements—but I believe that all our great humorists are Scots, and Sir James Barrie and Mr. Anstey Guthrie and Mr. Moffatt link hands with Mr. Harry Lauder and Mr. Wilkie Bard in making all Anglo-Saxondom split its sides with laughter. There was a wonderful old nineteenth century joke about a Scotsman's head and a surgical operation. Somehow, you never hear that story now.

The genius of a nation does not really change; its qualities are merely latent. I remember reading an old French treatise on music, in which the writer observed that, in spite of the talents of Handel, not only were the boorish Germans unmusical, but that, owing to certain defects in auricular construction which they shared with the Lapps and the North American Indians, they must forever remain incapable of the higher harmonic perceptions. This dictum ought to have discouraged the Germans from attempting to compete with the French and Italians instead of stimulating them to produce Mozart and Mendelssohn, Schumann and Schubert, Liszt and Wagner, and to become the chief musical country of the world.

Again, you remember, it was in 1820 that Sydney Smith penned his famous observation about American culture.

"The Americans," he wrote in the *Edinburgh Review*, "have done absolutely nothing. In the four quarters of the globe who reads an American book? Or goes to an American play? Or looks at an American picture?"

Well, no great period elapsed before half the civilized world might have retorted: "We are all reading American books—books by Washington Irving and Fenimore Cooper and Longfellow and Prescott and Emerson and Hawthorne and Poe, whose works are translated into every European tongue." In 1820, America had a population of between nine and ten mil-



lions—far more than Canada has to-day. Has Canada done "absolutely nothing?" Let us look into this matter.

When we speak of a knowledge of Canada, let it sometimes be not only of material things, not only of politics (which with us, I fear, does not mean the science of government of the people for the people, but rather the sordid scramble of politicians for place and power), but knowledge of the *Zeitgeist* of Canada, knowledge of the mind and intellectual tastes tendencies and achievements of our people. For, believe me, without this knowledge of what is valuable and permanent in ourselves, how can we possibly convey to others any just idea of our status as a civilized people—those others to whom as yet Canada is still only a name on the map, or perhaps the second biggest wheatfield on earth? I, for one, should like to tell the world occasionally of what we have done, not in terms of dollars or tonnage or mileage, but in terms of literature and art. We are fond of speaking of our undeveloped resources—well, gentlemen, I am here to tell you that one of the biggest undeveloped and neglected resources in the Dominion is our native art and our native literature. The mine has only been penetrated by a few bold and enterprising spirits, but if the samples they have withdrawn were to be inspected by all our people, that mine of our natural genius would be seen to contain pure gold, enough to make us all the richer.

A writer in the London Times a few weeks ago said in effect, that what the Canadian Government might well advertise for in Europe, is fifty poets to proceed at once to that materialistic country to supply the pressing needs of the population. Now, that gibe is very amusing, and I hear some Canadians say: "Ah, yes, we are very materialistic. We ought to go in for these things more." If, however, the English critic had put it in this way, "Fifty Canadians poets want immediately a million Canadian readers," then, I think, it would have exhibited a greater knowledge of Canada and of our literary achievements.

You will all readily understand how disconcerting it is for a Canadian author or a lover of Canadian letters to enter a Canadian house and amongst the rows of books he encounters there to find so few of Canadian origin. You would imagine sometimes that we had no native literature, that we had produced

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nothing which it was worth while for a Canadian of taste to read, when, as a matter of fact, considering the size of our population, we have been unusually prolific in works of history, philosophy, romance and poetry, and that amongst those works are many which are read, and read with delight and instruction, by Englishmen. We are far more literary than the Americans were when they boasted twice our population. Some of you may be surprised to learn that in the library of an English nobleman who takes a keen interest in Canada—I refer to the Duke of Argyll—there are no fewer than 150 works by Canadian authors, all produced within the last ten years, that is, since 1903!

In a recent charming little volume on Canada by Mr. Bradley, he says:

“It is only people who know Canada and know how it stood in its own estimation and in that of the world prior to 1898, who can realize the transformation that has come over it.” “There was no particular reason,” he goes on to say, “why all this should not have come some years earlier and that is the odd part of what the future historian will have to tell of a wonderful epoch. If it has surprised the world, it is not too much to say that it has surprised the Canadians themselves almost more. For they knew that the conditions which suddenly set the ball rolling had been there, but lying fallow, as it were, and though steadily insisted upon, rejected by the world for years.”

That is it—that is what I want to insist upon to-day: that what we have in our literature and in our literary fields has been too long and too generally lying fallow. I wish I had time to point to you some of the poetical riches, for instance, which lie all but hidden under your feet.

I wish I dared indicate to you more than one or two poems which have given pleasure these many years past and have served to convince me that

We are a people for higher dreamings meant,  
But damned by too much government.

If you doubt whether the divine afflatus has wafted through this land I should like you to look through the poems of Isabella Valancy Crawford, whose “The Sea and the Ship” was praised

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by Swinburne; of Archibald Lampman, Bliss Carman, Wilfred Campbell, Marjorie Pickthall and others. I am sorry I must not speak to you of the literature of Quebec, because, though much of it is beautiful literature, it is in French, and that language, for some reason or other, we will not take the trouble to master, although it would admit us into much that is charming and lofty and truly representative of Canada. Confining myself to English alone, we have produced and are constantly producing, works of which no country on earth need be ashamed, but on the contrary would be proud of. It is undeniable that a great deal of good work, clever work, has met with scant success amongst us. Only the other day I was looking through what purported to be a review of the leading names in our literature, and I was surprised to find no mention of that of Beattie Crozier, an original and painstaking thinker, author of a *History of Intellectual Development*, whose autobiography, "*My Inner Life*," is full of literary charm. Again, a few years ago, there was a book written by Professor George Wrong, of Toronto, called "*A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs*." I was delighted to find the *London Spectator* speak of that work as an enthralling narrative, couched in faultless, and at times, eloquent English. Now, one would think that it would be a matter of pride in our people to acquire a copy of that book and read it and place it on their bookshelves in a conspicuous place and call the attention of visitors to it. Well, the other day I mentioned it to a gentleman who is the lucky possessor of a small library of books. He surprised me by saying that he had never read that book, but he surprised me still more by saying that he had never even heard of it. I don't think Haliburton is read as he deserves—I don't mean so much "*The Clockmaker*," but other works of his, notably "*Nature and Human Nature*" and "*The Old Judge*," and I wonder how many of you have read the works of Todd, and Kingsford, and Bourinot.

On the other hand, if Canada yet be, as I heard a London publisher once assure his hearers, the poorest book market on the face of the earth (by which I suppose he meant for works other than fiction), she is not altogether unappreciative of native productions which arouse her interest. And even in former times, piety had a good deal to do with it. I cannot believe that, before



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Sir Joseph Pope's volumes appeared, the various Lives of Sir John A. Macdonald had any great merit as literature. Yet it is certain that tens of thousands of them were sold. I was once shown, as a curiosity, an invoice sent by a firm of wholesale merchants to a small shopkeeper in Ontario, which ran somewhat in this fashion:

- 1 gross crash towels.
- 5 cases whisky.
- 1 case 12 Macdonalds red.
- 1 case Macdonalds green.

The latter entries referred, of course, to a popular biography of the eminent statesman, bound in red or green, without which no Ontario household at that time was considered complete—at least no Conservative household. I am rather afraid that that is the way many of our people have, especially in the rural districts, of regarding literature as so much parlor furniture, to occupy so much space, but not necessarily to be read. Well, I don't object to that: it is an outward sign of an inward aspiration after literature. It reminds me of the story of the Westerner who, having newly acquired wealth, promptly added a library to his house, and proceeded to fill it with sets of standard authors. When they were all in their place, he found he had still a shelf to fill. So he called again on his bookseller who, after hearing of his predicament, said to him: "Have you got Thackeray?" "Thackeray? Thackeray? No: ought I to have him?" "Oh, most certainly," replied the bookseller, "a standard author—quite indispensable." "All right," agreed the customer, "but look here, about what's Thackeray's *width*?"

I don't think Sir Gilbert Parker, who, after all, is our most brilliant and universally popular author, has any reason to complain of neglect by Canadians, or Ralph Connor, or the late Dr. Drummond, or Mr. Robert Service, or Miss Montgomery, or Mr. Basil King, or Mr. Stephen Leacock, whose "Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town" is crammed full of life and humour.

But I never could understand why it was so necessary for Englishmen or Americans to tell us what was of signal merit in the literary productions of our own writers before we troubled to read them. That is a mark of provincialism which we might

get rid of, as the Americans assuredly, within the past twenty years have done. *Apropos* of that, I remember that rather more than twenty years ago a brilliant young writer, who happened to be visiting New York, sent to a certain long-established magazine there a couple of tales about India. The editor read them, and recognized that they were astonishingly good, but the author was an Englishman, absolutely unknown, and the editor was then engaged in publishing the works of English authors of reputation. So he returned the manuscript and the young man promptly sent him two other tales, even better than the first. I forget how many tales were sent altogether, but the young man was most persistent. He wrote to the editor, "I am going to send you a story every other day until one is accepted." But all his persistence was fruitless; all were rejected. Shortly after this, "Plain Tales from the Hills" and "Soldiers Three" were published in London, and the fame of Rudyard Kipling crossed the Atlantic, reaching the sanctum of the editor of the magazine, who immediately wrote or cabled to Mr. Kipling, asking for contributions from his pen, and offering a large sum for the American copyright. I am glad to be able to say that the young author refused; he had offered his little masterpieces on their merits, and they had been rejected because London had not yet set its stamp of approval upon his work. Overtures were made for years, and considerable sums offered, but it was now the author's turn to reject, and no tale of Rudyard Kipling found its way into the pages of that magazine.

I mention this anecdote merely to illustrate a disposition which has its counterpart amongst us. We are a little sluggish in acclaiming our own geniuses until the far, faint cry from Fleet Street or Broadway reaches us.

A result which must inevitably flow from this lack of spontaneous and consistent appreciation is that our poets and romancers and painters and philosophers must leave us, as they have been forced to leave us in the past. I often think of how many men, prominent in the public eye, whom we could afford to lose if we could only induce Bliss Carman or Gilbert Parker to return and dwell amongst us, or Dr. Crozier, or Charles Roberts, whose early love and zeal for his native land was crushed and withered by the neglect accorded him here compared with the wel-

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come to him he received below the Border. I hope I do not betray any confidences when I mention that when I first met the author of "A Sister of Evangeline," now nearly twenty years ago, he said to me:

"You know, if I depended upon my fellow-Canadians for my bread and butter, I should soon starve to death."

I know what the experience has been of many others who might, had they been encouraged, have spread the glory of Canada far and wide. I could narrate some pathetic instances, the long-drawn-out, tragic neglect of Charles Heavyside and Charles Sangster, of Emile Nelligan and Isabella Crawford.

But why go into these things? I believe there is a remedy for this national neglect of merit, and I also believe the time has come to apply it, so that before I take leave of you I shall venture to indicate one or two methods which I think we might well adopt.

I am reminded that I have spoken of Canadian art and Canadian painting amongst our undeveloped resources. What I have said about our literature—the analogy I have hinted at between our potentialities and those of foreign nations—may also be applied to our pictorial art. Here, too, we are on the threshold of great and enduring things.

I could cite the parallel phenomena of art in Norway and Denmark and Poland, all so recent, and so sudden. Is Canada, then, standing still amongst the northern nations? Are there no evidences of worthy artistic achievement? Here again I ask: Are you acquainted with the sum of our accomplishment? Have we this knowledge of Canada? If all our people could only have the privilege of traversing a gallery hung with the productions of native talent within the last twenty years, they would be astonished. Surveying two canvasses by Mr. Homer Watson, an Englishman not long ago said to me: "I had no idea you had any man in Canada who could paint like that! Why is it I have so often been told that Canada had no good painters?" "Because," I said, "Canadians hardly know it themselves. You know a merchant is sometimes too busy to take stock."

That is it: we have been too busy to take stock of our artistic possessions and achievements: soon some critic will do it for us,



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who will justly appraise the beautiful work of Mr. Morrice, William Brymner, George Reid, Robert Harris, Henri Beau, Henry Sandham, Mr. Russell, Bell-Smith, Suzor Cote, and others. I will not touch upon the art of sculpture, except to remind you that in Phillippe Hébert we have a Canadian sculptor whose work will compare favorably with that of any sculptor living. But if you really wish to see what a wealth of landscape themes this country affords, merely glance at the published watercolor drawings of Mower Martin. Russia and Norway, Sweden and Demark are poor in comparison.

Art is a great thing—pictures, good pictures, an inestimable possession for a country. I shall never forget the remark made to me by him whom I consider the greatest living man amongst us, one of the very ablest financiers and administrators, when I found him, at the close of a day's hard official toil, seated at an easel, paint brush in hand.

"After all," he said, "this is the thing that really matters to me. Any fool can make money."

Our people, I am convinced, have the receptivity—the potentiality of appreciation. But art and the productions of our artists must be more accessible to us. We must know more of what is being achieved in our midst.

Our woods, our lakes, our legends, our sea-ports, offer worthy themes for the brushes of our artists. But a race of artists, whether poets or painters, cannot live without appreciation; they languish in an unsympathetic, unresponsive soil.

It is long since governments regarded painting and poetry and music as outside the sphere of their functions. It is to the everlasting honor of France that she has led the way in these matters and now art schools, conservatories of music and prizes for literature are a feature of many states and municipalities. The individual patron on a generous scale has all but disappeared, and it therefore becomes the duty of the people collectively to encourage any manifestation of genius in its midst, to seek out and reward those who have rendered service to the state by their intellectual gifts and efforts, who have created or stimulated the ideals and the purpose of the nation.

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In the arts, in poetry, in written romance, in painting, there is, as you are all well aware, something besides the divine afflatus, something more than fine frenzy and fervor—there is technique. And technique in the arts is not achieved in a day: it is something to be slowly and sedulously acquired. In the meantime, while he is learning his trade, too many natural geniuses droop and fall by the wayside. But let us assume that they emerge from this ordeal and give sterling proof of the metal of which they are made, by the production of a useful or stimulating book or poem or picture, our loyalty to ourselves and our national genius should make us all ready to become the patron of such a man or woman.

"I have always had in mind to do something for art and literature," Sir Wilfrid Laurier said, many years ago. "I agree that Parliament should do something for the encouragement of such things amongst us." Well, I believe the Parliament of Canada has done nothing for art and literature: we have even no official fund out of which to remunerate talent or to relieve necessity. At the same time, it is only fair to say that several of our poets and writers have been given posts in the civil service and so saved from either destitution or emigration. But this is not enough. Surely there should be sufficient private munificence amongst us to establish, let us say, an annual prize in each of the Provinces for the best poem, the best picture or the best essay of the year. It has been found to answer in other countries—why should it not answer in ours? If the provincial prizes were open to all Canadians, it would also have the effect of showing where most genius and talent reside. Let a competent body like the British Academy adjudicate.

Even this is not enough. It is worth an effort to bring Canadian literature into our homes and into our lives. I applaud catholicity of taste. We want nothing narrow or provincial. Let us, as literary pilgrims, visit many shrines, but let us be familiar with our own. I offer you a practical suggestion. Why should we not have in every Canadian city and town a circulating library of Canadian literature? I don't mean a pretentious institution, but some modest source from whence could be procured by those desirous of obtaining that knowledge of Canada of which I have spoken, volumes of history, of poetry, of *belles-lettres*, wrought by our own people. To show how easily a

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beginning may be made, I have put my precept into practice. I have myself made a selection of twenty-five volumes, which I have offered to the Mayor of Windsor, Nova Scotia, for the use of the people, on condition that three other citizens will do likewise. If every community in Canada did even so much, what a difference it would make—what a spirit it would infuse into our people! It would nurture a taste and a love for our own poets and for the works of those who portray the life and legend and scenery of our native land. I believe this idea might even be worthy the practical consideration of the Canadian Club.

Whatever happens, I urge upon our rulers and our leaders this question of the intensive culture of our fields of art and literature. It is only by such culture, it seems, to me, that we can rightly produce the fruits of our national genius.

England, at the dawn of her literature, hung on the lips of her ballad-makers. The heart of old France moved responsive to the stirring lays of her jongleurs and troubadours; Scotland was inspired to great deeds by her minstrels; Wales by her bards. Let, us, too, practical as we are, immersed in commerce as we are, rally to our own men, to our own singers and seers, who belong to us, were reared amongst us, know our lives, are steeped in our history, in the lore of our woods and streams, who can, as no alien can, interpret for us and celebrate for us all the past and the passing manifestations, the secret, the glowing or the homely threads in the ever-changing fabric of our national life.



[*March 18, 1914*]

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF MONTREAL.

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By MAJOR G. W. STEPHENS.

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**M**ONTREAL is passing through one of the most serious epochs in its career. We have been forced to work under a charter that was prepared in good faith by our ancestors for a condition of affairs that long since has vanished. The powers given to the administrators of Montreal are contained within the covers of the City Charter that was planned for the needs and conditions of a city of 50,000 people; and for fifty years that mandate giving to the citizens the power to act has been changed, has been amended, has been added to, so that at the present moment it is one of the most difficult things to find out what the real powers of your administrators are or can be. One of the first things that I would like to attempt to do if you honor me with your confidence is to fit a charter to the needs of the present day in connection with the development of a great city, so that we may provide a field of development for a city on the banks of the St. Lawrence, beneath the brow of this noble mountain, of a million and a half to two millions of people. Now, all the great civic problems, as I see them, are intimately connected one with another. We cannot afford to plan one single item of our big development without knowing where we are going. We are trying at the present to do the impossible, in planning a big city through a small civic act. What you want to realize, citizens of Montreal, is this, that you have a right to a destiny worthy of a big city; that our French-Canadian people and our English-Canadians, our Irish, Scotch and Jewish, and our foreign population, all can be mustered together around a noble ideal of development for this great City of Montreal on the banks of the St. Lawrence. That is not a new idea. I have borrowed it from the history of our confederation; and the name of the man who is responsible for the putting out of the ideal is emblazoned

on the pages of our history and in the hearts of our people—for only a few months ago was dedicated the foundations of a great monument on the slopes of our mountain, to the memory of Sir George Etienne Cartier. Let me call down upon this meeting for a moment the spirit of that great man and put life into the words that he spoke nearly half a century ago, which made possible the confederation of today. Here are his words:

“In our confederation there will be Catholics and Protestants, English, French, Irish, Scotch, Hebrews and foreigners, and their effort and success will add to the prosperity of the Dominion and the glory of the new confederation. We are of different races, not to quarrel among ourselves, but to work together for our common welfare. We cannot, by law, make the differences of race disappear, and I am convinced that if the Anglo-Canadians and the French-Canadians will appreciate the advantages of their position and work side by side like a great family, their contact will produce a happy spirit of co-operation, and the diversity of race will contribute to the common prosperity of a great people.”

Now, a great many of us, and particularly we English-speaking people in the City of Montreal have for a long time been stung with a spirit of indifference. It has been everybody's business to criticize what is going on, and nobody's business to lend a hand to help it. Now, the greatest thing that I can ask my English-speaking fellow-citizens of Montreal today is, if you have a sincere desire to make of this great city a pride to Canada? The chance of your life is now upon you to do it. And I ask you today, in this election, for the good of the City, of Canada and of this Province to forget that you have any other object in view than to put your best heart, your best effort, and the soul that is in you into the work of securing municipal betterment, of approaching the great problems that we have to deal with, realizing that we have to stand man to man with everybody, irrespective of race or religion. Then you will get a city that people will be proud of. You will have a city that people will be proud to come to and sorry to leave. If we start together in the right way, we will make a healthier, happier and handsomer city of Montreal. This is the ideal I want to work for, and with my colleagues that you are going to send to the City Hall

we will sit down there as we did in the Harbor, and together we will make a plan upon which will be shown the outlines of a city competent to hold and to keep a population of one million, one million and a half or even two millions of people. The great lines of our development will be strung across that plan and on it you will see our transport system traced, our great boulevard and street system traced, our sewerage system provided for, our water system provided for, and all the great problems of this city, the arteries of the body politic, will be shown on that plan; and an ideal will be before the people that will be an incentive for you and me to work out our destiny with the rest. Among the things that have been said in an unkind way, which I am bound to refer to because they were directed to myself personally, was the fact that during my presidency of the Harbor Commission that I was content to sit there as President of the Harbor Board and take the credit of all that was done and that it was my two colleagues who did all the work. Now, gentlemen, I do not have to rob anybody. I do not have to take any credit away from anybody. My two hands and my head are good enough for me to work with by myself, and on the merits of myself as a man who has lived in this city for fifty years I stand or fall. In the development of the Harbor Commission three men there were who did the best they could to create the ideal we were all working for. Our duty was done harmoniously, to the best of our ability; and behind the three men was a loyal staff and a great body of loyal workmen, who all together had the same idea to work out, and to them must fall a large part of the credit. They were working to make Montreal the best port on the North American Continent. From the very day they put the pick and shovel into the work they were all working to the music of the idea, that they were building a national port in front of our noble city.

Such result as we were able to obtain in five years, the beginning of a great port, is not the result of any one man's work, but the result of the inspiration from the bottom to the top, where loyalty and good fellowship reigned from one year's end to another; and after five years there is not a single man who could come forward and say that any one of the commission-



ers did not spend the best time and effort they had in doing their duty.

Now we have a water problem facing the city of Montreal. Some of you may have been absent during the time that the problem was acute and for that reason perhaps you may pardon me for referring to it again. We have a severe problem here. Now, I cannot go into the details of these things very far in the time at my disposal, but I will just dwell a moment on two things. You may not be aware that the entire sewage of this whole city of 600,000 people is emptied through many outlets into the River St. Lawrence, between Point St. Charles and Longue Pointe. When the cold weather comes and the river freezes and the water gets full of needle ice there are miles of this sewage held up for months. Miles of it. When we came to break the ice to bring about an earlier opening of navigation we found this to be a fact. We are contemplating a new and efficient water system. Now, the same thing that happens in the case of Montreal happens in the case of the smaller cities and villages north and beyond. We must take care and consider these two problems at the same time. For if we build the most magnificent sewage system by itself, taking the River St. Lawrence as an outlet for it, then, when we come to consider a proper water system for 1,500,000 people or 2,000,000 people, and find all the little cities of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence doing the same thing as ourselves, we are going to put two, three, four or five millions of dollars into an enterprise which we will have to follow up with four or five millions more. The system of doing things one by one is a bad system if you do not know what the other fellow is doing at the same time. If one department is doing all its work independently of the rest of the departments, we are liable to find the work in vain. My idea is to have a plan that will have the reflection and study of serious experts upon it and will show the administrators of this city what can be done and what cannot be done. It will have the effect not only of bringing about beneficial results in every way, but will have the effect of saving enormously capital and interest of the taxpayers of this city.

Now, I have spoken on these two things, the water system and the sewage system. I am going to speak to you now for two or three minutes more on the question of city sanitation.

Are you aware that among all the cities of Europe with pretensions to population of any dimensions, the highest death rate of children below twelve months is 106 deaths per thousand births? Have you any idea how many deaths happen in the city of Montreal per thousand children born? Four years ago it was 250 deaths per thousand births. Today, happily, it is reduced to the neighborhood of 200. But standing at that figure of 200 it is double the death rate of any well organized city in Europe. This brings us to the question of sanitary homes for our poor people. In this great plan that I have suggested, it might be well for those who come into power in the City Hall to consider, that that plan ought to show districts with sanitary homes and parks for our people. You business men who already possess sanitary homes of your own, don't forget that there is a huge population of those who cannot help themselves to go into sanitary homes unless you help them. Now, I am one of those who believe that if our own people in the City of Montreal knew half of the problems that are to be solved, every organization in this city would get practically interested in some one of them; and we would have a motor power behind the solving of these problems that would force your administrators to do the right thing, would force them to remember that any one of the big problems that they have before them would take the best capacity, the greatest energy of the best organized business concern in the City of Montreal to solve. There is no use playing with these great big problems, and if you send me and my colleagues to the City Hall, there will be a change come over the scene of our city. I may only be a figurehead at this moment, but, gentlemen, if you honor me and my colleagues with your confidence there may perhaps come a time when you will say that the figurehead on the prow of the ship was a servant of his fellow citizens, and together with his colleagues in the City Hall has done his duty like a man; and the people of Montreal, bound together to a noble ideal, will put their city at the head of her sister cities in Canada, and make her administration spell a greater amount of comfort and joy for the people that are in it.

[*March 23rd, 1914.*]

## THE PANAMA CANAL TOLLS.

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BY HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN.

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I AM confronted with the necessity of addressing an audience that I find is to no inconsiderable extent composed of lawyers, on a subject that to be discussed properly must be discussed more or less from the lawyer's standpoint; and at the same time the necessity is upon me of so presenting it as to make it readily and fully comprehensible to all who are here. I am reminded of the method by which Richard Temple, I think it was, attained fame, according to the critic. His method was to succeed in making himself a man of the world among men of letters, and a man of letters among men of the world. My position this afternoon is very similar, and I approach it with some hesitancy.

The Panama Tolls is my subject, and my duty is to present to this Canadian Club the British-Canadian views—to substantiate the position assumed by Great Britain in our name, as in the name of all the units of the Empire, by such reasons as I can adduce. From the first word to the last of what I say there is superimposed this first and paramount consideration, that there stands at the other end of this controversy a great friendly power, a power friendly beyond the meaning customarily applied to that word; and on that account it becomes abundantly clear that the time is certainly not now when any words of bitterness, any words of jealousy or international distrust should be used. Especially having in view the stand taken by many of the brave men of the republic to the south, among whom we now number the President himself, who have set their faces against the current of opinion in that country, it becomes still more incumbent on us to see to it that we remem-



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ber that the views of that country, however erroneous they may be, have been heretofore presented and urged by methods and in language befitting a great nation. Strong arguments will do good, but strong language will do harm, and my every word will carry with it the force of a sincere conviction—it will need no other force.

By way of approach, I may present the case like this:—The sea is one—it is the common highway of all mankind; upon it there can be no prescriptive rights. That is an axiom of civilization. In the words of an English statesman, "it must be as free as the winds that sweep its bosom." Against the march of commerce, however, Nature had opposed two narrow barriers of land. One blocked its pathway to the East at Suez, and the other obstructed its course westwards at the isthmus of Panama. Sea transport in the last century doubled and multiplied. Britain led and all maritime nations took their part. But the two narrow barriers grew every year more obstinate, and every year more costly. To hew them out, and thus control these passageways around the globe, became recognized in each case as a franchise not to be appropriated by any person, company or country, but as a great outstanding world franchise, as yet unseized, but when seized, to be held in trust for mankind. And so the Suez Canal was built, and became by the Convention of Constantinople a world utility, operated by a Company on terms fixed by the Powers, where all were treated alike. The Panama project was of more colossal proportions and was slower of maturing. But at last it too is all but complete. The dream of five centuries becomes a fact, and next year will see in operation the greatest canal on this planet. The United States have built it and control it, and the question is, Does the trust subsist? the trust which in the case of the Suez provides for its use on equal terms by all nations, or is that trust impaired? Are the United States, besides controlling the Canal, able to use it for the advantage of their own commerce as against that of other Powers?

This right is claimed by the Republic, and in support of it they advance the following arguments. "We built it with our good money, and it cost us \$400,000,000." That is true. "We own the canal, and the whole canal zone, ten miles wide, across

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the isthmus, and we gave \$10,000,000 for it, together with an annuity of \$250,000 soon to commence, and as well we have to remit the dues on all Panama ships." And all that is true. "Not only do we own the canal zone in fee simple, but we are sovereigns there, and have full legislative rights over the whole ten-mile zone." That also is in a measure true. "We became owners and sovereigns and built the canal without violating any treaty." That again is undenied. And so as owners and sovereigns they pass the Panama Canal Act, they authorized their President to fix tolls on shipping through the canal, which tolls were not to be less than sufficient to pay for upkeep and maintenance, but they bound him to exempt from those tolls the coastwise shipping of the United States, and authorized him, if he thought fit, to exempt their foreign shipping as well. President Taft, in the exercise of that authority, fixed \$1.20 per ton as toll in all foreign shipping, and of course exempted United States coastwise shipping as the Act bound him to do. He refrained from exempting United States foreign shipping though the Statute empowered him so to exempt it. Great Britain has lodged a protest against the exempting clauses of this Statute. The United States are owners and sovereigns, so the burden is upon us to show that their power thus to legislate had been restrained or abrogated.

We rely on the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, and inasmuch as we rely chiefly upon the Preamble and Rule 1 of Article III, I will read you both.

The Preamble of that Treaty is as follows:—

### **Preamble.**

His Majesty Edward the Seventh of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King and Emperor of India, and the United States of America, being desirous to facilitate the construction of a ship-canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by whatever route may be considered expedient, and to that end to remove any objection which may arise out of the convention of the nineteenth of April 1850, commonly called the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, to the construction of such canal under the auspices of the Government of the United States, without impairing the "general principle" of neutralization established in Article VIII of that convention, have for that purpose appointed as their plenipotentiaries;

### Article III.

The United States adopts, as the basis of the neutralization of such ship canal, the following rules; substantially as embodied in the convention of Constantinople, signed the 28th of October 1888, for the free navigation of the Suez canal, that is to say:—

1. The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable.

You will note the purpose, and the only purpose, of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, as there set out, is "to facilitate the construction of a ship canal . . . by whatever route may be considered expedient, and to that end to remove any objection which may arise out of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 to the construction of that canal under the auspices of the United States," but to do so "*without impairing the general principle of neutralization established in Article VIII of that Convention.*" Note carefully the reservation, for here is the heart of the controversy.

What then is the "general principle of neutralization" established by Article VIII of this Convention or Treaty referred to? The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty provided that Great Britain and the United States would give support and encouragement to any company that would undertake to build the canal, and would jointly guarantee its protection, provided:—

That the parties constructing or owning the same shall impose no other charges or conditions of traffic thereupon, than the aforesaid Governments shall approve of as just and equitable, and that the said canal or railway being open to the subjects and citizens of Great Britain and the United States on equal terms, shall also be open on like terms to the subjects and citizens of every other state which is willing to grant thereto such protection as Great Britain and the United States engage to afford.



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There is quoted verbatim "the general principle of neutralization" provided for in Article VIII of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, indeed the only principle of neutralization ever mentioned in Article VIII. And remember this is the "general principle of neutralization" which the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty undertook in its preamble to preserve, and to preserve unimpaired. Pardon me if I impress upon you again the very words that clothe this principle, the principle that was to survive all change, that has been the chief corner stone of all these negotiations for seventy years, that was to stand whatever else might fall, the principle, viz., "of the canal being open to the subjects and citizens of Great Britain and the United States on equal terms," and to the subjects and citizens of all other countries who might share in the obligations of the project. Subject to maintaining that traditional feature of policy intact the United States were to be at liberty to have the canal constructed under the "auspices of their Government" and to control it; which liberty they were denied by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. This liberty they could exercise either by building direct or by loan, or by gift or subscription as described in Article II. So there you have the intention of both parties to perpetuate this equality of tolls and terms of all subjects of the two countries set out in the preamble to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, and surely in language as plain as language ever was.

Then Article III comes in and, adopting the words of the Suez Canal Convention, demands:—

That the canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable.

Now it is argued by Mr. Knox, Mr. Taft and others upholding the case of the United States, that "all nations" meant, all nations but the United States, who they say must be understood to be excepted because they were to build the canal. I answer that you cannot argue that in the light of the preamble, wherein

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is laid down the express purpose of the Treaty, viz., to preserve unimpaired the general principle of neutralization established by Article VIII of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. If you exclude the United States you cannot maintain the principle unimpaired, you cannot preserve it at all. Right there seems to me the stone wall in the path of the American contention, and able indeed would be the arguments that would ever surmount it.

But what are those arguments? First of all they argue: "We are not only builders and owners, but we are sovereigns, we have legislative jurisdiction, and it is a rule of interpretation that if an interpretation to a Treaty can be reasonably given such as will not detract from sovereign rights that is the interpretation that must apply, because such is held to be the intention of the parties, and it is the intention that governs." Very well, the answer—the insuperable answer is this: when the Treaty was made they were not sovereigns. They became sovereigns two years after that Treaty. Sovereignty was never contemplated when the Treaty was made. How can a condition arising two years afterwards be held to affect the intention of the parties to a Treaty two years previous? But furthermore they argue: "This rule that you quote is only Rule 1 of Article III. There are five other rules. Those five other rules deal with embarkation of troops and with blockades, etc. Now we are sovereigns of the territory. Therefore those five rules cannot apply to us. We are masters there and can do what we like with it in case of war. If the five rules do not apply to us why do you insist that Rule 1 applies to us?" The answer comes again. When the Treaty was made they were not sovereigns. Consequently when the Treaty was made the intention was that all six rules should apply. It may be that by virtue of a move made since, a changed condition, effected by one Power, that some of those rules may now have a different application, but surely not to the prejudice of the other contracting party. Inasmuch as the United States have since become sovereigns of the canal zone, the British Government does not question their title to exercise belligerent rights for its protection. But should that affect Rule 1, which treats of tolls and terms? With Rule 1 it is not a question of changed effect. It is a question of original construction. The United States do not claim

that Rule 1 has by their action two years afterwards a changed effect, changed to our great prejudice. That would be absurd. They say that Rule 1 was never intended to include them. Then how can a subsequent changed effect of Rules 2 to 6 alter the original construction of Rule 1? If anything further were required to eliminate this argument as to sovereignty we should read Article IV.:—

#### **Article IV.**

It is agreed that no change of territorial sovereignty or of international relations of the country or countries traversed by the before-mentioned canal shall affect the general principle of neutralization or the obligation of the High Contracting Parties under the present Treaty.

“But,” they say, “we have succeeded to the rights of New Granada as it were. New Granada was sovereign and owner in 1850 and there is not a whisper in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of that date to prevent New Granada building the canal and exempting her ships from tolls. We have, by purchasing the canal zone from her, acquired all the rights of New Granada.” The answer is:—there is not a whisper in the 1850 Convention about any country building the canal. That was not contemplated. It was thought that a company might build it. But in any event, how could a treaty between the United States and Britain affect in any way the rights of an outside Power? But the effective answer is here. Though New Granada may have been able at the time of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty to have built the canal and exempted its own ships, the United States were debarred by that Treaty from acquiring the rights of New Granada. I read in that connection the following Clause of it:

Nor will Great Britain or the United States take advantage of any intimacy or use any alliance, connection, or influence, that either may possess with any State or Government, through whose territory the said canal may pass, for the purpose of acquiring or holding, directly or indirectly, for the subjects or citizens of the one, any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through said canal, which shall not be offered, on the same terms, to the subjects or citizens of the other.



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And again, the United States acquired their sovereignty in the canal zone by virtue not of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which debarred them, but by virtue of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. Their sovereignty consequently is a conditional sovereignty. It is restrained and abbreviated by the terms of that Treaty. How then can it be argued that that sovereignty modifies the terms of the Treaty?

It is also pointed out with very much appearance of force that very often other Treaties have been made between the two nations, in which the terms vessels of the United States and vessels of Great Britain have been used and in which in the interpretation it has been held that those words do not include the coastwise vessels of either Power. I have taken the trouble to go through all that have been suggested as illustrating that point, but of the whole thirty-one suggested I can only find one where coastwise shipping was not expressly excepted by the terms of the Treaty itself; consequently in all except the one the argument is against the American contention rather than in its favor. The one single exception is the Convention of Commerce of 1815 between the United States and Great Britain. In that Convention these words appeared:

No higher or other duties or charges shall be imposed in any of the ports of the United States on British vessels, than those payable in the same ports by vessels of the United States; nor in the ports of any of his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, on the vessels of the United States, than shall be payable in the same ports on British vessels.

In this clause it has been held that the words British vessels and United States vessels do not include the coastwise shipping of either Power. Why? For the plainest possible reason. Because that Treaty, that Convention of Commerce of 1815, sets out in its preamble and in two other clauses of the Treaty itself, that its sole purpose is to regulate commerce between the territories of the United States and those of Great Britain, between the territories of the one and the territories of the other. That is the sole purpose of that Treaty. How then could it apply to coastwise traffic? In the present case the situation is reversed. If you are going to apply coastwise shipping to the Convention

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of Commerce you depart from the Treaty, but unless we hold coastwise traffic to be included in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty we defeat the purpose of the Treaty itself as expressed in the preamble.

Now it is argued also that if the words "vessels of all nations" in that Rule 1 that I have quoted, includes the United States and all countries, the Treaty has been violated already without protest from Great Britain. They say: "In 1903, when we acquired the territory from Panama, we agreed to exempt the vessels of the Panama Republic from tolls, on account of the terms of purchase." But it is rather a dangerous argument for the United States, because our contention is that all nations means all nations. Their contention is that it means all nations but the United States. Now if to exempt Panama shipping is inconsistent with the British contention, it is equally inconsistent with the American contention. But I submit it that the argument has no force against either position. The Panama people at the time of the purchase were owners of the zone and masters of the situation and they fixed their price. An element of the price was exemption from toll. That was an element of the cost to the Republic of the United States, and it is bound to be considered by all other countries in estimating what would be a fair return on the capital invested, because a fair return on the capital invested is undoubtedly due them as builders of the canal. "After all," they argue, and the constitutional lawyers of the United States make a final stand here—"after all we are fighting about very little, because all we have actually done is to exempt our coastwise shipping, and," they say, "you cannot compete in our coastwise shipping anyway. Our laws forbid the interference of the ships of any other power in the coastwise traffic of the United States." That is true. So, they conclude, nobody is hurt. Well, if either the assumption or contention is correct they are of doubtful value to the United States, because the heart and center of their contention is that their foreign shipping and their coastwise shipping in principle are on exactly the same footing, and that one fails when the other fails. Senator Lodge particularly emphasized that point. But as a matter of fact neither is correct. It is quite true that at the present time they exempt only their coastwise shipping. But to say that nobody

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is hurt is certainly not consistent with reason or the facts. Coastwise shipping, in the first place, means one thing in one country and another thing in another, just as the legislature of a country chooses to define it. In the United States the vessels passing from New York to San Francisco, though by way of Cape Horn, from San Francisco to Hawaii, or from New York to the Philippines are included, and not only that, but according to their laws the coastwise vessels of the United States may engage in foreign traffic as well, and they are at liberty at any time, as any country is, to extend the scope and meaning of the words coastwise traffic, and no other Power can interfere. So that our answer is this: To say that it does not affect us is to argue against plain facts. Why, if their reading of the Treaty is accepted they are at liberty to impose a toll on the vessels passing from Victoria to St. John, at the same time exempting a vessel passing from Tacoma and unloading at Portland. They can exert their right to such an extent as to make it pay to divert traffic passing from the Maritime Provinces to British Columbia by loading on American railways to their Atlantic ports, thence in American bottoms to their Pacific ports and over American railroads again to destination in the Canadian West. Our traffic between British Columbia and the Maritime Provinces in 1911 was 118,417 tons, and that went all the way around the Straits of Magellan. Carloads across the Continent cost \$30 per ton and up, and should by way of the Panama Canal cost \$6 per ton to \$9. That alone would represent a saving of \$2,500,000 per year. What might not this traffic become? Would there not be a fatal discrimination between, for instance, a Canadian line running from Vancouver to New Orleans, and an American line running from Tacoma to the same port? New England merchants would have likewise a big advantage over British merchants in competing for the trade of the Pacific States. Again, supposing British Columbia timber or Alberta wheat is wanted at Rio de Janeiro or at an old world Atlantic port. A Canadian vessel must pay the canal tolls, while an American vessel can escape them by the simple expedient of trans-shipping at New Orleans. Indeed, their coastwise ships may engage in foreign commerce according to United States law; and what is more, they can extend still further the scope



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of coastwise traffic. The discrimination already exercised by the action of President Taft in putting on only a \$1.20 toll, from which American shipping is exempt, will work havoc in favor of American shipping.

But our case is really this:—You not only authorized him to impose this toll, but you have gone further. You have not only imposed \$1.20 on foreign shipping through the canal and exempted only American coastwise shipping, but you have authorized your President to exempt your foreign shipping, and if you can do what you have done, you can go further and so add to the tolls on foreign shipping as to compel us to pay the subsidy which you are giving to your own vessels. We are not fighting for nothing. If we sit down under it we disrobe ourselves of every protection we have heretofore set up, and we could at no future time ever assert our rights with any hope of success.

From this I pass to the last; they say finally:—"All we do is to exempt our coastwise shipping, and we could do this anyway by a subsidy. We could charge them at one end of the canal and remit it at the other and consequently, by means of a subsidy, we could do all we are doing now. So why object?" This sounds plausible. If in the actual working out a subsidy means the same thing as an exemption, then they can exempt their foreign shipping as well by subsidy. Britain can subsidize her foreign shipping; all nations can likewise, and so the treaty, if the premisses are sound, is repealed as to tolls. But the premisses are not sound. An exemption is not the same as a subsidy. Britain does not dispute the right of the United States to subsidize their shipping. But a subsidy as a subsidy would have to be defended to their taxpayers on its own merits. Paid in the ordinary way it comes out of the pockets of the American people. But if the United States are right in this question, they can add to our tolls and exempt their own to such an extent as to take from foreign shipping the subsidy with which they encourage their coastwise shipping.

I am at the end of what is usually advanced and all that is ever advanced that has the merit of real controversy, on the part of the United States, but it has been asserted that never until just recently was it ever contended that this Treaty had such an effect as to operate against the United States in the way we con-

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tend. Time will not permit me to call the multitude of witnesses from the United States to corroborate our contention, but I do wish to refer to certain cogent and powerful ones. John Hay, their Secretary of State at the time—and an able man he was, both as a diplomat and as a writer of surpassing excellence—negotiated the Treaty for them; Joseph H. Choate still adorns their citizenship, and respect for his authority, like the fascination of his personality, grows with the weight of years. He was their ambassador at London, and was a signatory to the Treaty. What first is his testimony as to the meaning and intent?

The great design of both treaties, that of 1850 and that of 1901, was to promote the construction and maintenance of a ship-canal between the two oceans, for the benefit of mankind, on equal terms to all, and to protect the neutralized canal effectively when built. In urging on the British Government the making of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the American negotiator said to Lord Palmerston:

"The United States sought no exclusive privilege or preferential right of any kind in regard to the proposed communication (that is, a canal or railroad), and their sincere wish, if it should be found practicable, was to see it dedicated to the common use of all nations on the most liberal terms and on a footing of perfect equality for all. That the United States would not, if they could, obtain any exclusive right or privilege in a great highway which naturally belonged to mankind." This statement expresses accurately the avowed intention and resolve of the United States from 1850 to 1912 concerning any Panama Canal. All treaties on the subject are based on this intention and resolve, many times reiterated by official representatives of the American Government.

Our protest on the subject is based on this contention.

John Hay has testified to the same effect. His lips are silent now, but on January 15th, 1904, two years after the Treaty, he thus described its effect:—

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was conceived to form an obstacle, and the British Government therefore agreed to abrogate it, the United States only promising in return to protect the canal and keep it open on equal terms to all nations in accordance with our traditional policy.

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That *traditional policy* who can mistake it? From the early years of the nineteenth century almost to the present hour it has been attested over and over again by American Presidents and Secretaries of State, by resolutions of their Senate and House of Representatives, and by their Ambassadors in foreign lands. It was declared by Henry Clay in 1826 and more fully pronounced by resolution of their Senate in 1835:

Resolved, that the President of the United States be respectfully asked to consider the expediency of opening negotiations with the Governments of other nations, and particularly with the Government of Central America and New Granada, for the purpose of effectually protecting, by suitable treaty, stipulations with them, such individuals or companies as may undertake to open a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by the construction of a ship-canal across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and of securing forever, by such stipulations, the free and equal right of navigating such canal to all such nations, on the payment of such reasonable tolls as may be established to compensate the capitalists who may engage in such undertaking and complete the work.

In 1839 the House of Representatives unanimously passed a similar resolution. Again it was affirmed by President Polk in 1846, who said in commenting with the Treaty with Granada:

The ultimate object, as presented by the Senate of the United States in their resolution to which I have already referred, is to secure to all nations the free and equal rights of passage over the isthmus.

To this array may be added Mr. Clayton, Ambassador at London in 1849, and later on Mr. James G. Blaine, whose words on this are most emphatic and significant:

Nor does the United States seek any exclusive or narrow commercial advantage. It frankly agrees and will by public proclamation declare at the proper time *in conjunction with the Republic on whose soil the canal may be located* that the same rights and privileges, the same tolls and obligations for the use of the canal shall apply with absolute impartiality to the merchant marine of every nation on the globe; and equally in time of peace the harmless use of the canal shall be freely granted to the war vessels of all nations.



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That does not read consistently with any idea of discriminatory rights in favor of the "Republic on whose soil the canal may be located." But it is in harmony with the Suez Convention in which Turkey and Egypt, who are sovereigns of the territory, are on equality with all others as to tolls. I hurry through the list of witnesses to quote the words of Senator Davis, the chairman of Committees on Foreign Relations, in presenting his report on the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. After lauding the large and generous views of those statesmen of Europe who conceived the Suez Canal Convention of 1888, he says:

The United States cannot take an attitude of opposition to the great Act of October 22nd 1888, without discrediting the official declarations of our Government for fifty years on the neutrality of an Isthmian canal and its equal use by all nations without discrimination.

The Suez canal makes no discrimination in its tolls in favor of its stockholders, and, taking its profits or the half of them as our basis of calculation, we will never find it necessary to differentiate our rates of toll in favor of our own people in order to secure a very great profit on the investment.

Then again :

To set up a selfish motive of gain by establishing a monopoly of a highway that must derive its income from the patronage of all maritime nations, would be unworthy of the United States if we owned the country through which the canal was to be built.

More is not necessary. I conclude by reading an amendment moved in the United States Senate by Senator Bard of California, as an alteration of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty:

"The United States reserves the right in the regulation and management of the canal, to discriminate in respect of the charges of traffic in favor of vessels of its own citizens engaged in the coastwise trade."

This amendment was defeated by a decisive majority. True, it applies to the 1900 Treaty, which was not ratified, but the final text of 1901 was in the same language regarding tolls.

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Two generations have passed since both countries commenced to treat on this great subject. They started on a footing of comparative equality, for both had influence in the territory, and stake in the project far beyond those of other Powers. These mutual rights were cordially acknowledged, and on a high plane that does credit to civilization, the negotiations have been all along maintained. So it must be to the end.

Great Britain is prepared in the name of her subjects everywhere to abide by the event of arbitration. On that event or on an earlier settlement, as now happily seems probable, she is prepared to contribute her full share on a parity with the world under whatever tariff may be necessary to provide maintenance and a fair return on capital. Such would be the due of a Company. Such is the due of the Republic. Even then the world will owe much to the United States. Theirs was the initiative, theirs the capital, theirs the courage, theirs the resource that brought success where others failed. And those of their number, and indeed of many countries, who assert that if the British position is vindicated it will mean that there lies upon the rest of the world an obligation to the United States that will not be wiped away, are beyond all doubt asserting what is true. That country has indeed made the world a debtor. But to make the world a debtor is the privilege and mission of great Powers as it is the privilege and mission of great men. None the less it is in direct line with self-interest. It is the highest conception of self-interest. The United States have more than once in their history risen to that honor. They have done so in Cuba, in Hawaii and in the Philippines. They have done so in their very dedication to democracy on Plymouth Rock. In a task of like character they are engaged today in Mexico—we hope with success. And those of us who have read well the life story of the parent State, who remember the plight of civilization a century ago, and can picture still an Island Kingdom that counted her blood as water and her gold as dust as she stood between Europe and a conqueror; those of us who know of an Egypt rescued and reanimated, of a South Africa regenerated and of an India redeemed, those of us, best of all, who know the full meaning of a Canada, a New Zealand, an Australia sheltered through a hundred years of peace and progress where an Empire may renew its youth,

## *The Panama Canal Tolls*

will believe that Britain too has a store of service to her credit on the balance sheet of nations.

The Panama Canal is a mighty deed mightily performed. It will be numbered among the greatest victories of man over the forces of nature. To the American Republic belongs the control. To them belongs the trusteeship and the control which that trusteeship carries, limited by the articles of the Treaty which are the terms of the trust. "A fair field and no favor" is there named the first condition. "A fair field and no favor" is what Britain called for in 1850 and in 1901. "A fair field and no favor" she calls for now, as a thousand times in her history. That and that alone is the meaning of her protest.



[*March 25th, 1914.*]

## THE BRITISH ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION.

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BY COMMANDER EVANS, R.N.

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THE British Antarctic Expedition contained sixty members, drawn from all parts of the Empire. There were men from South Africa, men from New Zealand, Australia, England, Ireland, Wales, and last but not least, a distinguished man from Canada—Charles Wright. It was very hard to select from the volunteers. Captain Scott had 8,000 volunteers, including soldiers, sailors, scientists, firemen, policemen. We had men in every walk of life, unfitted for polar expedition. In all those three years we lived together, the spirit of the expedition was one of tolerance and good humor. We could not all be scientists or sailors, but we all did our best, and all pulled together. I think we were a great example of the Imperialistic spirit. You quite well realize that, when men are drawn from all corners of the earth, from different trades and professions, they are apt to be a little rugged, and to possess very different ideas. But Captain Scott possessed extreme tact.

He gave me the command of the ship, as I was one of the youngest members. Then he got together three of us—the chief of the scientific staff, one of the lieutenants, and myself; and he said: "Look here, you fellows have got to pull together, and the only way I can do is to let the sailorman take charge of the scientific staff." Well, we sailed away very happily and took as a midshipman a man who did not have any particular qualifications, a gallant man, whose name will go down to posterity as a hero—Captain Oates. The first day out we broke a biscuit on his head. Not a nice small Huntley & Palmer biscuit, but a good big one. We also rated several of the doctors

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midshipmen, and the first man that showed any signs of swollen head was taken and undressed and locked in the cabin until his ardor cooled. It is very hard, you know, to be dignified when you have no clothes on. But in a very few days everybody had got down to the scantiest clothing possible to keep the cold out, and the very oldest clothes they had. Some took to wearing other people's clothes. This started the humor of the expedition, and once you have humor, you cannot lose your temper. So we started and got out to Cape Town, and everyone had got on very well. There was a beautiful ship there which had been abandoned—the "Penelope." Now the "Penelope" had some very fine fittings. When we fitted out our ship we did it in a very scant fashion, for lack of funds. So we went on board the "Penelope" and found that the ship had just what we wanted, and we went out from Cape Town very well equipped indeed. The admiral was a very tactful man; he avoided meeting us and went away on a cruise. He had been a polar explorer himself and he knew what we were after. When we got to New Zealand Captain Scott joined us and we started on our voyage South. During this voyage, and a few days out, we had terrific weather and every single scientist, every single man on the ship, every soul in the ship's company, was two days without turning in. A gale came up that very nearly cost us the ship, and the men formed a human chain and pumped the ship when the pumps gave out. We went through then the first big test, and everyone was found willing and ready. Then we had a fine time going down to the ice, and all hands helped to unload us. We laid out depots, and everybody worked hard. The trouble was not to make people work but to get them to stop work and go to bed. It was very dark and lonesome, but we carried on our spirit of good humor. Some instances of this humor have been so exaggerated that I must quote some of them:

On one occasion we had a terrific smash-up, when going down the ice falls (a great mass of crevasse, which three of us tobogganed down) and we had the misfortune to break up our sleds. A piece of ice, falling, sprained my wrist. I was standing holding my wrist, and an Irishman in the party said: "You have the luck of the devil." I said: "What do you mean?" He said: "Well, sir, you don't walk on your hands."

Another occasion when real humor was displayed was after many days travelling on an autumn journey when the sun had just dipped below the horizon at midnight. We kept all our clocks one hour fast, and so when it was really midnight our clocks showed one o'clock. One of the Irishmen in the party went out of the tent one night and pretty soon he rushed back and said: "Sir, what time is it?" I said: "A quarter to one." He said: "The sun is just setting." I said: "Well, let it set." "You don't mean a quarter to one in the morning?" "Yes, of course." It was really only a quarter to twelve. He said: "Well, sir, a sunset in the morning is a sailor's warning."

Well, gentlemen, there is one thing that I must say here right now and that is, I want to tell you something about the man Wright, in view of the tragedy that overcame our expedition. Those of us who have come back would, we knew, receive (as they are) a spontaneous ovation; and those who did not come back should have honor and memory in the hearts of the nation. But I think perhaps on that account we have a little overdone it, and there are certain members of the expedition who are not getting quite the credit that they should. This happens in war, when the general and the private come back. The general is acclaimed and the private's heroism and sacrifice is lost in the general glory of the campaign. You all connect Lord Roberts and Kitchener with the South African War, but you do not think of plain Bill Smith; and I think that those who do their duty in the private war are liable to be forgotten. And so, on account of the polar tragedy, I think some of our members have been left out. I never think that Wright has had his fair share of the credit. His pony was the first to go under, and so he went on ahead and joined the pioneers, who really had the hardest time of anybody, as is usual with pioneers. When we got 600 miles from the main station, Wright was asked if he could navigate the pioneer party back. He was not in charge of the party. He told Captain Scott he thought he could. He was only an amateur navigator, but Wright piloted this party back for 600 miles over all the ice barred surface and glaciers. Two of the party suffered from scurvy, but Wright plugged on. He was a splendid physical specimen. He piloted the party back; and he never got any credit that I have heard of for this



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splendid achievement. When he got back a letter had been brought down from India saying that Dr. Simpson, a physicist and our senior scientific man, one of the most important members of the party had to go back to India on account of the sickness of his chief. There was only one man in the expedition who was really capable of filling Simpson's shoes, and Wright took on Simpson's duties and carried them out in a splendid fashion. It is due to him that we have a complete second year's series of observations. So in this great part of the Empire you can remember that you are very closely associated with our little expedition. .

You can imagine that, with sixty men, living together in a little ship of a size not larger than the ark and very nearly as obsolete, you can imagine that people get into close quarters and are apt to lose their temper with one another. But they did not do so, and they stuck it out all together and gradually a great deal more than friendship sprung up among the members of the expedition. I will quote a little example.

A man in France last summer offered me an hotel on account of some little good turn I had accidentally done his son. He offered me as well the privilege of inviting my friends to stop there. My first thought was the members of the expedition. I thought that if they had had enough of me and of each other they would not come, and if they can stand more they'll accept. So I sent to each of them a circular stating that I had asked so and so and they all came. We spent the summer there—the first holiday any of us had had in five years; and there we were out of sight of the rest of civilization, running about with very little clothes on, and really leading a sort of primitive existence. This is just to show you how those men came to like one another; how they could still not only be put up by one of their number but could still put up with one another. We had an Australian in the expedition, Taylor—a splendid physiographer and an eminent geologist. When he came to New Zealand he thought: "This is not a country for entertainment. I have to settle down to hard work." He joined rather late, and he came in an old grey flannel shirt, a soft felt hat, and the oldest clothes he had, and expected to be turned to physical labor as soon as he got on board. We had a very smart quartermaster at that time.

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Taylor approached the ship and said: "I want to go on board." The quartermaster said: "Is anybody allowed on board, sir?" Taylor said: "Oh, I guess I am allowed on board." The quartermaster said: "I don't think so." "Why?" asked Taylor: "Only the members of the expedition are allowed on board." Taylor said: "Well, I am going with the expedition, I am one of the staff." The quartermaster said: "I don't think you are the sort that is going with this expedition." Taylor said: "Is Captain Evans on board?" The quartermaster said: "Yes, but he doesn't want to see you." Eventually I came along and I said: "Why don't you come on board?" He said: "The quartermaster won't let me." However, we got him on board and then the quartermaster came up and apologized for treating one of his future officers so badly. But Taylor slapped him on the back and said: "I admire you for doing your duty." There were two more Australians with us, and there was absolutely no difference between any man from any corner of the Empire when we got into a tight place. We all had different methods of expression and we used different figures of speech, but we all endeavored to do our work as well as we could. Some of us excelled in one direction, some in another, but we pulled together. We came through it together, all except five, and their deaths taught a lesson which is more valuable than all the scientific results we brought back. The example set by Captain Scott's message, the conditions under which that message was written will stand forever as the finest piece of instruction in altruism and real greatness that can ever be read to the schoolboy of the British Empire. And then again there was the action of Oates. I really think that it is almost impertinent for me to praise Oates' action. It is a thing for the greatest possible admiration. Oates was a soldier who would have readily given up life in battle, when excitement grips one and makes you do things that in cold blood you might not do. But in frozen blood, realizing that his companions might be lost, that the sacrifice of one of the party might be the salvation of the others, that man deliberately wrote in his diary what his purpose was, went out of that tent in the blizzard and was lost. You must remember that they were about twenty-nine miles from the depot and at any moment if the blizzard had lifted they might have been saved. But rather than

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risk delaying the party he gave his life to save theirs. I do not think anyone in the whole world could be more proud of anything than we are of that man's action.

It is so hard for every member of the expedition to be appreciated. It generally happens that the top dog gets all the credit. I am going to ask you to remember my companions and give this welcome to them as much as to me—everyone of the fellows, the blue jackets, the foremen, the stewards and domestics, who quietly cleaned the plates and washed up, and did their duty. And when called upon they did their share of the dangerous work, but they did their own work first. We have plenty of examples of this. We saw it on the "Titanic," when the engineers and the wireless operators remained at their posts. Now that you have given me such an ovation I am going to tell you that, after all, physical courage is very easy to find, but it is not a patch on moral courage.



[April 24th, 1914.]

## THE NAVY QUESTION AS REGARDED IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

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By J. S. EWART, K.C.

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**A**LTHOUGH we hear much less of the navy question now than a year ago, it is, in my judgment, the most important question that Canada has to deal with; and as I have recently spent a few weeks in Australia and New Zealand, I make no apology for my selection of a subject for to-day's address. Nor do I think that I am in any danger of committing a breach of the conventionalities of your Club—forbidding the introduction of party politics—for, in the first place, I am not a party man, and in the second, while I thoroughly agree with the declarations of both of our political leaders as to our obligation to participate in British wars, I most heartily disapprove of what each of them would do—if the other would only let him; and while I disapprove of what each of them would do, I thoroughly approve of what each of them is doing—thwarting his opponent.

The Australasian point of view is very different from ours. German armaments and European complications are, to them, matters of little and far-away significance, compared with the reality (as they think) of the Asiatic peril at their door. As Col. Allen (New Zealand's Minister of Defence) said last spring in London they

“do not fear any European force. That is the crux of the matter.”

They dread peaceful but overwhelming immigration; they fear that they may be compelled to keep their doors open to that immigration; and Australia has, undoubtedly, good ground for

believing that she will not be permitted peaceably to keep vacant that large part of her territory which is probably unsuitable for occupation by the white races. Insistence upon a "white Australia" is legitimate. For the maintenance of a partially empty Australia, heavy fighting forces will some day be necessary.

You will have an epitome of the Australasian situation if, to this Asiatic dread, you add a feeling of isolation; a belief that dependence may some day have to be placed upon unaided effort; a sense of partial abandonment (substitution of a Japanese alliance for the now withdrawn battleships); and a historic uncertainty of the sufficiency of British sympathy. A writer in *The Round Table* (a), referring to this last point, spoke of

"the belief that, in the past, England has in her diplomatic relations with other powers, either wittingly or through ignorance of local conditions and requirements, sacrificed the interests of her great possessions in the South Pacific."

I prefer to quote language of that sort from Imperialistic source rather than to use it myself, and I hasten to add that for diplomatic failures, either in Australia or Canada, I make no complaint; for I agree with another writer in the same journal who said with reference to one subject of complaint—

"The point is that, to Australia, the New Hebrides stand by themselves, whereas, to Downing Street, they represent a very minor consideration in the sum of British relations with France" (b).

We must be fair. But you will see that an appreciation by the Australasians of the British point of view tends rather to intensify than to dissipate their anxieties. Looking, and rightly looking to her world interests, will the United Kingdom always be willing to enforce Australasian interests, as Australasians see them?

In order to impress upon you this special antipodean view point (it is "the crux of the matter") let me refer first to the map and then to a few historical episodes. Observe that the seas

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(a) June, 1913, p. 577.

(b) Sept., 1913, p. 608.

## *The Navy Question as Regarded in Australia and New Zealand*

to the north of Australia and New Zealand—tropical seas—are crowded with islands inhabited by millions of the colored races. In Java alone (not one thousand miles away) there are over 30,000,000 people, of whom about 1,000,000 are Chinese. The Philippines, a little further off, have seven and a half millions—nearly all Malays; and in the background are China and Japan, the Australasian team of nightmares.

This Asiatic dread is not a mere "scare" of recent origin. As early as 1881, an intercolonial convention was held for the purpose of considering

"by what form of restrictive legislation the immigration of Asiatics might be checked" (a).

Then anxiety turned to the occupation of some of the unclaimed islands by France and Germany, and strong but unavailing representations were made to the British government as to the necessity for forestalling further foreign action.

In 1883, Queensland, on her own initiative, set up the Union Jack on that part of the island of New Guinea (the second largest island in the world and separated from Queensland by Torres Strait only) lying to the east of 141° of east longitude. Lord Derby repudiated the act, assuring the colonies that there need be no apprehension of foreign action (b), and saying that—

"If the Australian people desire an extension beyond their present limits, the most practical step that they can take, and one that would facilitate any operation of the kind and diminish in the greatest degree the responsibility of the mother country, would be the federation of the colonies into one united whole which would be powerful enough to undertake and carry through tasks for which no one colony is at present sufficient" (c).

Acting upon Lord Derby's advice, another intercolonial convention was called (1883) to consider—

"the annexation of neighboring islands and the federation of Australia" (d).

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(a) Jebb: *The Imp. Confce.* Vol. I., p. 6.

(b) *Ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 268; Ewart: *The Kingdom of Canada*, p. 173.

(c) Moore: *Com. of Aus.*, p. 30.

(d) *Ibid.*, p. 30.



## *The Navy Question as Regarded in Australia and New Zealand*

The conference formulated what has been called the Monroe Doctrine (I should term it the Canning Policy) of Australia. It resolved that

“the further acquisition of dominion in the Pacific, south of the equator, by any foreign power would be highly detrimental to the safety and well being of the British possessions in Australasia and injurious to the interests of the Empire”  
(a).

That was ambitious, but there was no George Canning behind it; and in the following year Germany, and now the United Kingdom also, planted their flags upon parts of the island—Germany upon a part which until then was not occupied by a single white man (b). Negotiations resulted in a partition of the east half of the island, and the southeasterly part, now called Papua, eventually became a dependency of Australia. As a result Germany has territory separated from Papua by a mere line.

By a treaty between the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States, a joint protectorate was proclaimed in 1889 over the Samoan islands. Complications ensued, and, in 1900, the United Kingdom assigned all her claims to Germany, receiving compensation in other parts of the world. Australasians were not very well pleased with that transaction.

The New Hebrides were originally included with New Zealand. As against British indifference to their ownership and an inclination to recognize a French claim, Australasians protested in vain during a period of twenty-four years. The question being left untouched by the general settlement between the United Kingdom and France in 1904, Australia in the following year suggested a method of arrangement. No reply was sent; and, without any notice to Australia or New Zealand, a convention was entered into and sent out for approval. The reply of the great New Zealander and Imperialist Richard Seddon (10 June, 1906) was as follows:

“The Commonwealth and New Zealand governments are incensed at the Imperial government conference fixing conditions of dual protectorate in the New Hebrides without first consulting the colonies so deeply interested. The Imperial government calls upon us now for advice upon what is

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(a) *Ibid.*, p. 30.

(b) *Ency. Brit.*, *New Guinea*, p. 489.

## *The Navy Question as Regarded in Australia and New Zealand*

already decided, making our difficulties very great. The entire subject is of vital importance to the Commonwealth and New Zealand. We ought to have been represented at the conference. If anybody had been there for us who knew anything about the subject, the result would have been very different. Whoever represented Britain, French diplomacy was too much for them. I cannot honourably say anything further—my hands and tongue are tied by the Imperial government; but I wish I had the power of Joshua to make the sun stand still” (a).

At the conference of 1907, Mr. Deakin, the Premier of Australia and a brilliant Imperialist, made similar protest, and replying to a defence sent to him by the Colonial Office said:

“But for the action of Australia and New Zealand, there would not be an island today in the Pacific under the British flag.....

“Whatever losses there are in the Pacific—and there have been others—have been due to neglect here. Every single gain has been due to pressure from Australia and New Zealand. Consequently, whatever credit is due for the acquisition of these islands rests on the other side of the globe and not on this.

“Is it, therefore, to be wondered at that a feeling has been created and still exists in Australia—an exasperated feeling—that British Imperial interests in that ocean have been mishandled from the first? . . . There you have our two absolutely opposite points of view, the point of view of our part of the world and the point of view in this country; and it is only because it is necessary, as it appears to me, to make that fundamental contrast of attitude understood, that I have ventured to detain the Conference by referring to it” (b).

As recently as the third of December last, Col. Allan, the New Zealand Minister of Defence, said in the House of Representatives:

“Looking back over the history of diplomatic and foreign questions in the Pacific, there can be only one answer that a New Zealander would give to the question: Are you satisfied with what has been done in the past? I come to the present time, and ask whether we are satisfied with the conditions as they prevail today. Are New Zealanders satisfied

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(a) Jebb: *Imp. Confce.* Vol. 2, pp. 269, 270.

(b) Proceedings, pp. 549, 550.

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with the position of the New Hebrides, and with other matters in the Pacific of importance to us, which the Mother country, because of the condition of sea-power in the Pacific and her position elsewhere, is unable to help us with? Supposing we want, as we New Zealanders do want, a coaling-station between here and Panama, what can we do to secure it? If it involves foreign relations or diplomatic questions with another country, then it is put on one side; and I say this is not satisfactory to us in these southern seas."

For my own part, I should say to those gentlemen: You are right in your contention that the United Kingdom has not carried out your policy. You are not right if you are making complaint about it. British policy is larger and more diversified than yours and necessarily different. If you wish your own individual policy enforced, you must take Lord Derby's hint and see to it yourselves.

"But, Mr. Ewart, if it be the fact that Australia has her Monroe doctrine and her White Australia policy, and that the United Kingdom has always been thought to be unsympathetic, how is it that Australia for many years has made voluntary contributions—gratitude contributions to the British navy?" She has not. That she has, is a popular and very misleading error. What she did was (in 1887, acting with New Zealand) to bargain, and bargain closely that so many British ships should be retained "within the limits of the Australian station"; that they should not be removed either in peace or war except "with the consent of the colonial governments"; and that, in consideration thereof, Australia and New Zealand were to pay so much. In 1902, the amount of protection was increased and so were the payments. Australia was never asked to pay, and never contemplated paying, any money to the British government except in return for agreed services.

The conference of 1907 found both the Admiralty and Australia tired of the agreement—the Admiralty because it hampered its freedom of action. The First Lord said:

"There is one sea, there is one Empire, and there is one navy, and I want to claim, in the first place, your help, and, in the second place, authority for the Admiralty to manage this great service without restraint" (a).

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(a) Proceedings, p. 129.



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And Mr. Deakin said that

“the existing contribution has not proved generally popular (a).”

In the last Empire number of *The Times* (24 May, 1913), I find the following unofficial account of Australian feeling in 1906—

“At the same time the naval agreement of 1902-3, unpopular from its inception, was discussed year by year with greater acrimony. Early in 1906 it became known throughout the Commonwealth that an influential body of public opinion in England, which had never favoured the White Australia policy, was against the use of the British Navy to help Australia in defending it, should another nation challenge it. Under these circumstances it seemed to the Australian public somewhat futile to continue its monetary contribution to a Navy which might not be available for the defence of Australian ideals; and the discontent grew rapidly when a proposal for a local defence squadron was summarily condemned by the Imperial Defence Committee.”

Feeling, therefore, that her defence depended largely upon herself, Australia asked the advice of Lord Kitchener and Admiral Henderson. The former set a programme that would have delighted the heart of Mr. Sam Hughes. It is being worked out but, unfortunately for the Australians, his estimates have been exceeded by more than one half (b).

The Admiral, too, made recommendations that now are appearing to be rather formidable. Observing that the population of the United Kingdom was about ten to one of that of Australia; that comparison of their sea trade showed a relation a little more favorable to Australia; that the naval expenditure of the United Kingdom was about forty million pounds; and that

“on this basis Australia’s annual naval provision would be £4,000,000 now, increasing in later years proportionately to population,”

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(a) Proceedings, p. 473.

(b) See N. Z. Debates, 3rd Dec., 1913, p. 520.

the Admiral proceeded to say

"I have thought it reasonable, therefore, to frame my proposals on the assumption that Australia desires to possess, as early as practicable, a fleet whose annual cost approximates to this proportion, increasing gradually as the population and wealth of the Commonwealth grow."

The Admiral recommended the construction of the following ships (carrying a personnel of 15,000 officers and men)—

- 8 Armoured Cruisers.
- 10 Protected Cruisers.
- 18 Destroyers.
- 12 Submarines.
- 3 Depot Ships for Flotillas.
- 1 Fleet Repair Ship.

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He recommended the construction of two fleet primary bases (Sydney and Freemantle); 2 fleet secondary bases (Thursday Island and Port Darwin); 7 destroyer bases; and two sub-marine bases, but gave no estimate of their cost, and said nothing about their fortification. He recommended that construction should extend over a period of twenty-two years divided into eras of seven, five, five and five years. He suggested an annual vote of fifteen million dollars during the first era; twenty million during the second; twenty-two and a half during the third; and twenty-five during the fourth (a total of \$442,500,000); but he did not suggest that those amounts would cover the cost of the bases; and the estimates which he did furnish (only, as he said, very rough approximations) have been largely exceeded.

Although Australians have deemed expenditure on the scale recommended by the Admiral inadvisable, they have spent heavily, and I see reason to believe that they are now feeling a little oppressed by the magnitude of the task which they have undertaken. The burden of it is heavy even as compared with that of fully-developed European countries. The following

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table shows in shillings and pence the expenditure for defence per head in the countries mentioned—

	s.	d.
Great Britain.....	31	9
France.....	27	5
Australia.....	23	10
Germany.....	18	9
Sweden.....	16	5
Holland.....	14	0
Italy.....	13	9
United States.....	12	10
Denmark.....	12	3
Spain.....	10	5
Norway.....	9	7
Switzerland.....	9	4
Austria-Hungary.....	7	4
Belgium.....	6	10
Russia.....	6	7
Japan (a).....	4	6
Canada (b).....	3	11

Add to this that the total debt—federal, state and local—increased from £4 2s. 2d. per head in 1909 to £5 12s. 6d.—over thirty-six per cent. in four years (c); that the total taxation per head is in the following proportion:

United Kingdom.....	£6	10	0
Australia.....	5	12	6
Germany.....	4	3	0

that the customs revenue for the last fiscal year decreased over \$3,000,000—take these facts together, and one need not be surprised if Australia should doubt her ability to continue her scale of expenditure.

**Excuse for Pause.**—Naturally the federal government does not wish to appear as lacking in enthusiasm with reference to defence, and an excuse for delay has arisen in this way: At the subsidiary and military conference of 1909, Australia agreed to build a fleet unit; the United Kingdom agreed to furnish two

(a) Japan's position is attributable to the very low rates of pay.

(b) In a table showing relative expenditure upon national development, Canada would probably be at the head of the list.

(c) Tariff Reform, Jany. 14, 1914, p. 33.



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fleet units for neighboring waters (the India and the China stations); and Canada indicated what she was willing to do. Australia alone has carried out her programme; in view of the default of the other parites, she has asked for re-assembling of the subsidiary conference; that request appeared, last summer, to have been refused; and the government indicated that without some understanding of what was to be done it was embarrassed as to what it ought to do, and will have to think about it.

The Minister of Defence in a communication to the Sydney Herald of 11 October last (1913) said as follows:

"It was certainly presented to, and accepted by Australia, that simultaneously with the building of its unit, other additions to the naval strength of the Empire in the Pacific would be made.

"I have a distinct recollection of pointing out, when submitting the proposal for the Australian unit to the Senate towards the close of the 1907 season, that Australia would, as a result of the conference agreement, have not only the protection of its own unit of 13 vessels, but also that of the two other units (making a total of 39 vessels) which Great Britain undertook to place upon the China and East India stations respectively. The New Zealand Dreadnought, it will be remembered, was to form the capital ship of one of these units."

"As, therefore, the agreement or policy evolved at that conference is, in certain directions, in a state of suspended animation, surely the time is ripe to ask for a further opportunity for discussing the whole subject of Pacific defence with those represented at the conference of 1909."

In the same newspaper the Premier expressed himself in this way:

"If it is true that no conference is to be held, the Ministry will, of course, have then to consider seriously its future line of action in regard to its naval policy. One has to look a few years ahead in the construction of fighting ships. They cannot be built in a day. It takes years to get them ready, and we want to know beforehand what is best to be done. Now that the Australian fleet unit is nearing completion, it is time to think what the future is to be. We do not want to go ahead blindly. It must be understood in all this that there is no intention to conflict in any way

with the programme laid down by Admiral Henderson. Still, the question of co-ordinating Admiral Henderson's proposals with the general scheme of Imperial defence has to be well thought of."

**The Naval Demonstration.**—The fleet unit is, however, almost complete and, on the fifth of October last, two events occurred which, taken together, are I think of greater significance than any other episode in the history of colonial political development. On that day the Australian fleet made its official entrance into Sydney harbor, amid the plaudits of scores of thousands of Australians (a). And simultaneously with that entrance, the Admiral of the British ships hauled down his flag and issued a valedictory to the Australian people in which he said:

"The new Australian station has been transferred to the Commonwealth, and the ships of the Royal Australian navy are now the guardians of these waters."

The Admiral took a passenger ship for England, and the few ships which he had commanded dispersed. At a banquet in the evening, the Governor General, Lord Denman, said:

"Today we are at the parting of the ways, for at noon today, the Australian naval station was handed over by the Imperial authorities to the government of the Commonwealth, and, today, therefore, Australia takes up the burden of naval defence in these waters, which for so long has been borne by the mother country."

The area assigned by the British Admiralty to the Australian squadron is enormous, extending from the 95th to (at one place) the 170th degree of east longitude; and from the Antarctic circle to (at one place) the 8th degree of south latitude. But more significant still, the ships are under no obligation to remain within those limits. Subject to mere notification to the Admiralty, they may go anywhere, except into a foreign port; and, subject to the usual arrangements with the respective countries, they may visit those ports too. There can be no higher expression of the sovereignty of Australia than the ownership of war-vessels, ex-

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(a) The newspapers observed that the enthusiasm was less marked than in the entry into the same harbor of the Australian fleet on August 20, 1908.

## *The Navy Question as Regarded in Australia and New Zealand*

clusively under her control, flying her own flag, and traversing international waters as she directs.

Am I attaching too great significance to the Australian fleet? Well, the last Navy League Annual (1913-14) has the following:

“In the life of our Empire . . . there has been no more arresting incident since the loss of the American colonies” (p. 266).

And in so saying the writer had not forgotten either Waterloo or Plassy. The only incident which, in my opinion, ought to rank with it, is Mr. Borden's formal declaration to the British government, that Canada cannot hold herself under obligation to participate in British wars unless she has a share in the control of British foreign policy, and Mr. Asquith's reply, that such control cannot be shared. Mr. Borden understands—he has indicated that he understands, what that interchange means. Not many other persons in Canada appear to realize it.

**New Zealand.**—The popular impression that New Zealand has been making voluntary contributions to the British Admiralty, and that she has now changed her mind and intends to build a local navy, is inaccurate. In the earlier period she joined with Australia in the agreements of 1887 and 1902—so many ships for so much money—and she was a party to the arrangements made at the special conference of 1909, by which it was agreed that the British government should provide one fleet unit for the India, and another for the China station; that certain of the ships of the China unit should, in time of peace, be stationed in New Zealand; that the ship provided by New Zealand was to be the flagship of the China unit; that the ships of that unit should be manned as far as possible by New Zealand officers and men; and that the New Zealand annual payments should be applied in raising the pay from British to New Zealand rates of wages.

Those arrangements suited New Zealand perfectly, for they gave her satisfactory protection. She built and handed over her battleship, and waited for the United Kingdom to perform her part of the agreement. In 1912, came the first hint that the British part of the arrangement was not going to be performed. It arrived in the form of a request that the New Zealand ship



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should be attached to the North Sea fleet. About the same time Mr. Churchill indicated by his speech at the Shipwrights' dinner (15 May, 1912), the adoption of a policy which precluded the idea of either carrying out the agreement of 1909, or of entering into any other of similar character. He said:

"The fact that our fleet has not only concentrated in the decisive theatre of European waters, but must be kept concentrated and in a certain sense tied to that theatre, has been for some years creating a new want, a new need, a new opportunity for the great self-governing Dominions of the Crown."

"If the main development of the past ten years has been the concentration of the British fleet in decisive theatres, it seems to me, and, I dare say to you, not unlikely that the main naval development of the next ten years will be the growth of the effective naval forces in the great Dominions overseas. Then we shall be able to make what I think will be found to be a true division of labor between the mother country and her daughter-states—that we should maintain a sea-supremacy against all comers at the decisive point, and that they should guard and patrol all the rest of the British Empire."

These incidents, coupled with the withdrawal of the principal ships of the British squadron which had been in Australian waters (a), led to the visit to England of Col. Allen (the New Zealand Minister of Defence) "to endeavor to bring about a more satisfactory state of affairs" (b), the Premier bluntly saying that we have not "the necessary naval protection we are entitled to" (c). Col. Allen when he left New Zealand still thought that the agreement of 1909 might possibly be carried out—except so far as related to the New Zealand ship, but when he arrived in London he found that the ways had parted in England as well as Australia—

"an intimation was given to him by the Imperial authorities that the position had changed so materially that it was not considered advisable to carry out the agreement" (d).

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(a) An abatement of from nine ships with a gross tonnage of 41,060 tons in 1910, to three ships with a gross tonnage of 6,845 tons in 1913.

(b) The Premier's statement of 28th October, 1913.

(c) *The Round Table*, December, 1913, p. 196.

(d) The Premier's statement, 28th October, 1913.

It was while he was in London, too, that Mr. Churchill announced that the three proposed Canadian ships should form part of an Imperial squadron with headquarters at Gibraltar (a). from whence it could reach New Zealand in thirty-two days; and it was in that connection that Col. Allan spoke of "the crux of the matter." He said:

"The choice of Gibraltar as the base of an Imperial Squadron does not satisfy me from the point of view of the defence of New Zealand, and I feel sure it will not satisfy Australia either . . . Mr. Churchill points out that the squadron from Gibraltar could reach any outlying portion of the Empire more quickly than any other European force. But we do not fear any European force. That is the crux of the matter" (b).

The Admiralty proposed to Col. Allan that New Zealand should commence training her own men, offering, for that purpose, the loan of a ship; and that the two light cruisers then about to leave Australia should be stationed in New Zealand. That proposal not being in the least satisfactory, New Zealand offered to pay an additional £50,000 per annum if the Admiralty would so far implement the agreement of 1909 as to substitute two cruisers of the Bristol type for the proposed two light cruisers. The Admiralty refused; and there being nothing else to do, New Zealand commenced the training of her own men (applying her previous annual payments to that purpose), and has announced that

"if no satisfactory arrangement is arrived at before next session, parliament will be asked to agree to the building in Britain of one fast modern cruiser."

That is the position in New Zealand.

**National Spirit.**—There are many things which challenge one's admiration in Australia and New Zealand. I admire them for their splendid national spirit. An Australian club in Aus-

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(a) House of Com., 26th March, 1913.

(b) Outis, pp. 31, 32. Col. Allen repeated his dissatisfaction in the New Zealand Parliament, 3rd December, 1913.

tralia for the purpose of cultivating an Australian sentiment would be as curious a solecism as machinery at the North Pole for the purpose of making ice. I am afraid that in Canada we need all our Canadian clubs, and I think that we need a little closer attention to the object for which they were founded.

The national spirit of the Australasians manifests itself in many ways. Each country has its own flag. New Zealand adopted hers by formal statute. The Australian government called for competitive designs, and, having selected one, directed it, by vote of the House of Representatives, to be hoisted on all the public buildings, all the forts, and all the saluting places in Australia. On the menu card of a banquet in Melbourne (24th September, 1913), was Tennyson's verse carrying the words "one flag, one fleet, one throne," but at that very moment arrangements were being completed for the transfer of guardianship from one fleet to the other, and on another page of the card were the two flags, in combination with an outline map of Australia.

The national spirit of Australia is shown by the constant use which is made of the outline map. You see it not only on the menu cards, but upon the post cards, and the souvenir spoons. One of the exercises connected with the naval demonstration was the formation of a huge map of Australia by the combination of some hundreds of children.

I admire the Australian's railway policy and management. They have built, and they operate, in a business-like way, almost the whole of their mileage. We, on the contrary, hand to railway corporations sufficient millions and guarantees to build the roads and yield a profit on construction, and then we pay freight rates to the people who, by that process, are said to own the roads. We do that because (as we say) we cannot trust ourselves to be honest; and because (as we do not say) both political parties at certain recurring periods need patriotic contributions, for purely legitimate expenses.

I admire the Australian newspapers. They are better than ours. There is more scholarship in them and less sensationalism and slang.

I admire the Australian judiciary. Its federal appellate court is better than ours. It has the complete confidence of its



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bar and the general public. Ours is not so fortunate. But I will say that the more I see of the Privy Council in England, the better do I appreciate the good work of the Supreme Court of Canada.

I do not admire the excessive devotion of Australians to what they call pleasure and sport. And I most heartily dislike the gambling spirit which in some places rises to the height of a general and morality-sapping vice.

There are many things to admire (if some to reprobate) in these countries, but I saw nothing to wean me away from Canada. I was frequently asked whether our winters were not very cold. My usual reply, that we enjoyed the cold, brought upon me, on one occasion, a little laugh, for I was told that I was like the Scotchman who commenced his defence of Scotch grapes against Italian by saying—"I maun premees I likes them soor." Well, gentlemen, sour or sweet, hot or cold, or both—with all her faults, and above all other countries, I love my Canada.

[April 20, 1914]

## THE NEW AMERICAN TARIFF AND ITS EFFECT UPON CANADA.

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By THE HON. SIDNEY FISHER.

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**I** HAVE but a short time before you here this afternoon in which to deal with such a very large question. I have abbreviated my remarks as much as possible, and trust that I will be able to keep within the statutory limits. I trust that nothing that I may say in regard to the tariff of the United States will be taken in anything but the friendly spirit which I personally have always felt in regard to our great neighbor to the south, and which will certainly actuate anything that I have to say in regard to them.

I am aware that in the Canadian Club politics are taboo, and therefore I wish to treat this subject from an economic, and not a political, standpoint; and I shall try to refer as little as possible to politics in Canada, at all events. I have the right to do this because I am addressing a Canadian club, but also I think that there is another reason quite as great why politics need not be spoken of in connection with the tariff. I venture to say that, as far as our status, national, imperial or international, is concerned, it is not affected by trade movements or the commercial relations between us. Canadian history has shown this; and the present condition of affairs in Canada shows it, perhaps, to an absolute proof. The idea that a tariff in the United States, or even in Canada or any other country, could affect our national or our imperial patriotism or our pride as a people is to me quite out of the question. The present situation is this. We were never more firm in Canada in our satisfaction with our position as a people, as a nation within the Empire,

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than now; and yet our trade with the United States, for instance, has never been more preponderating in our whole history than it is today. A few figures which I may be allowed to quote will prove this.

In 1913 Canada's total trade was a little over one thousand millions of dollars. With Great Britain we did \$317,000,000 of that; with the United States we did \$622,000,000 of that, or nearly twice as much as with our Mother Country. I will compare this with the trade two years ago, in 1911. Our total trade was then \$760,000,000 in round figures, and of that we did \$247,000,000 with Great Britain and \$414,000,000 with the United States. This last year our trade with Great Britain, compared to the United States, was just about fifty per cent. in round figures. In 1911 it was about thirty-five per cent. in round figures, but I do not think anybody in Canada will think for a moment that in 1913 we were less patriotic or less loyal to our country and our Empire than we were in 1911. I may say therefore, that the American tariff changes have no political bearing, and only affect us economically.

Let me come to this point and give a slight sketch of what has, in my opinion, led up to the present Underwood Tariff. In 1908 Mr. Taft was elected President. In that campaign the people were grumbling and protesting and demanding reform of the tariff. That was the expectation of the people; and the Republican party went so far as to say that the tariff ought to be reformed by its friends, which they said they were. Mr. Taft went even farther than this. In a brilliant speech he stated that the tariff ought to be reformed by its friends, downward. In fulfillment of that pledge, or the intended fulfillment of it, was passed the Paine-Aldrich Tariff, and Mr. Taft signed it. The people in the United States were disappointed and felt that it was not a fulfillment of the pledge of downward reform. Mr. Taft was affected by the indignation and protests. The price of living was high. There was a check to trade. There was difficulty in regard to public affairs, and Mr. Taft sought a remedy in reciprocity. I do not propose to day a word in regard to reciprocity from a Canadian standpoint, except this, that the peculiar circumstances surrounding conditions in the United States (which are never



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likely to recur), induced Mr. Taft to come to Canada and ask for negotiations on a treaty for reciprocity. Reciprocity was an expedient on the part of Mr. Taft to remove the indignation against the Paine-Aldrich Tariff, by giving to the United States consumer a larger market for his food, and in that way reducing the high cost of living. It was passed through Congress in the United States, I venture to say, by the influence and pressure of the administration, and not by the expressed will of the great mass of the people of the United States, who were on the whole opposed to that arrangement.

The next step was the Taft-Wilson election, and I think that the election of Mr. Wilson was to a large extent a triumph of those who were in favor of tariff reform downwards. The Democratic Party came before the people with that as their tariff declaration. Mr. Taft was the embodiment of the Republican Party who had not reformed the tariff downwards. The consumer and the farmer in the United States were exasperated at the too long and too great inattention to themselves, and the open and avowed care for other interests and trusts. They rebelled and elected Wilson. The Underwood Tariff is the result. I venture to consider it a reasonable and carefully considered fulfillment of the Democratic pledges; and if I may here for a moment trespass a little on politics I will say, as was the Fielding Tariff of 1897 a fulfillment of the Liberal pledges in 1896.

Now, what is the effect, economically, on Canada, of the Underwood Tariff? We have to-day, and we had before, largely the same economic conditions in Canada as they had in the United States. There is a check in our progress. Money is tight and higher in price. There is a higher cost of living, constantly increasing, with a tendency to lower wages and less employment. There is a great urban increase of population at the expense of the rural population of the country. What is the effect on Canada's trade and home market? The tariff came into force on October 4, 1913, and I have figures which show the effect of it on our trade with the United States to the end of the last calendar year. I will compare the three months of that year with the corresponding three months of the year before. In 1912 we exported to the United States \$37,346,000 worth of produce and goods. In 1913, in the corresponding three months

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to the end of the year, we exported \$57,130,000 worth, or an increase in the three months of \$19,784,000, or practically an increase of fifty per cent. Now, I attribute this solely to the effect of the Underwood Tariff, because, in this increase of \$19,784,000, ten articles on which the duty under the Underwood Tariff was either partly reduced or absolutely removed accounts for \$19,000,000. These articles were cattle, horses, oats, hides and skins, cream, print paper, beef, flax seed, wheat, potatoes, and fertilizer. Those articles represent \$19,000,000 of the increase in exports to the United States. There is practically no increase in the export of articles on which there was no change in the tariff, and I think I am entitled to conclude that the decrease of the duty under the Underwood Tariff occasioned this increase in Canadian exports to the United States. It paid our people to send those goods to the United States. It paid them, because the barrier to the natural channel of trade was removed, the barrier that existed by reason of high duty in the United States on Canadian articles. There was no change in the exports on which the barrier was not removed. Now, that has had an effect upon our home market. In that exportation was \$14,000,000 worth of food, and to that extent the supply of food in Canada was restricted and the food consuming population of Canada were so far short of their supply. In addition to that there was \$700,000 worth of horses and fertilizer, and there was a very considerable offal from flax seed, which was manufactured before in Canada, and which made up \$7,000,000 worth of our exports during the last three months of last year to the United States. The offal made by flax seed, along with the horses and fertilizer, were an advantage to the farmers in the production of our food, and to this extent our food supply in Canada was injured and interfered with by this export. This brings me to refer to two other items. In 1912 we exported \$3,500,000 worth of flax seed in three months. In 1913 during the same period we exported \$7,000,000, doubling our export, and to just that extent are the oil manufacturers and paint manufacturers of Canada hindered in their work and in their profits. We sent out \$1,500,000 of print paper more than we did the year before, and to that extent and in that way our newspaper men were injured in their business owing to this

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greater export. As an item of food supply let me mention particularly the item of cream. This affects Montreal particularly. In 1912 we exported \$168,000 worth of cream. In the same three months of 1913 we exported \$363,000 worth, an increase of \$195,000, considerably more than one hundred per cent. increase. Now, up to the time this tariff came into force you had butter in Canada. Now nearly all of it has gone from the Eastern Townships and the border points along the river in Ontario, the natural supply of the butter consumption in Montreal. As a result of this export the butter supply of Montreal has been decreased. The facilities for getting your butter have been decreased, and it has been a very important factor in the maintenance of the very high price you have to pay for butter this winter in Montreal. Why did this increase in export take place? Because our farmers and milk dealers found that they could make more money by sending cream to the United States market than by making it into butter and selling it to you here in the city of Montreal. This even went so far that a creamery which is run by the present Dominion Department of Agriculture in the Eastern Townships for the purpose of illustrating the manufacture of butter to our farmers there, instead of manufacturing their cream into butter sold it to the United States. This gives us the high authority of the present Government, that trade with the United States is good.

Now, our people have received by this tariff a better price for their products. They are better off, they are better able to meet their obligations with the banks. They are better able to pay their debts to the wholesalers and manufacturers and to make greater purchases in the future. It is true that in the first instance the profits have largely gone directly to the farmers, but indirectly they come to the bankers, the merchants and the manufacturers in the great cities like Montreal and Toronto and elsewhere in Canada, and therefore it is to the advantage of you gentlemen here in Montreal just as much as to that of the farmers, to have this better trade. It may be that the price of living is a little accentuated. It is accentuated, also, because, while the American food consumer is benefiting by this decrease of the duties on his food and the entry from outside of an extra supply of food, here in Canada we have no corresponding advantage, as



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there has been no reduction in the duty which our food pays if it comes from abroad. The present tariff is, in fact, slightly raised, instead of lowered, on a few items, not, however, food items. Again, we in Canada, in the markets of the world, are often in many places and in many ways rivals of our American friends to the south. We export on somewhat the same lines. We send our goods to other countries and are there met by the competition of the United States; and in that exportation today the Americans have removed one of the disabilities that their high protective system has imposed upon their producers and exporters. We have not done the same. We therefore find ourselves face to face with a new disability in the foreign markets in which we may compete with our friends to the south of us. This is one of the most important effects of the American tariff changes upon Canada.

There is another effect which is a little more difficult to define and certainly much more difficult to measure in dollars and cents. For years Canada has been pointing to the United States as a model in tariff legislation. The conditions and circumstances of this continent and in these two comparatively new countries have led people in Canada to say that if the Americans believed in and exercised protection it was a strong argument for Canadians to do the same. This argument has especially been used by those who are in favor of protection in Canada. But here is a new lead on the part of the United States. This Underwood Tariff is a consumer's tariff in the United States. What does that mean? It is a recognition on the part of the executive of America of tariff construction from the point of view of the consumer as the first producer—not ignoring the manufacturer, but recognizing that the manufacturer is but a part of the whole and must bear his share of the burden without special privilege. The United States has followed the opposite course for so many years that the whole social structure of that country was in danger, and the feeling of unrest and revolt was acute. The inflated fortunes of millionaires, gross ostentation of luxury and vicious extravagance was flaunted beside the squalid poverty of the masses, living in congested centers, which have been growing rapidly and in an unintelligent, because uncared for, manner—living in want of adequate food, clothing, fuel, in unsanitary

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tenements, creating a bad social environment, consequent upon the rapid growth of the cities. People living in this condition are a danger to the health, peace and good order of the community. Hence the growth of Socialism. Why should the workers be in want and squalor while those for whom they work have so much? Not only so much more than the workers have, but actually more often than even their extravagance can spend, so that they are accentuating the unequal distribution of the community's profits. That has been the condition in the United States, and the Underwood Tariff is one step towards removing this danger. Here in Canada, I think that having followed their lead for years in Tariff matters, we could easily do worse than to follow this lead. Indeed the economic influences of the time may force us to do so before long.

# Speeches Delivered at the Annual Banquet

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APRIL 27th, 1914





## THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES OF CANADA

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By HENRI BOURASSA

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THE statement that a committee is re-arranging the scope of your Club by inviting French Canadians to form a part of it, and put into practice what should be the task of everything national in this country, is good news. Canada is not a country of one race of men, but it is a big, broad country founded upon a loyal understanding between representatives and descendants of two of the noblest races of mankind—I mean of the English and French speaking races. It has been said, "Where this fellow Bourassa is there is sure to be opposition." But I have no opposition to anything that has for its object the development of that spirit of good understanding between the English and French speaking Canadians; and I say that an institution like this Canadian Club should be one of the beacon lights to show that Canada is a country whose history, whose traditions, make equality and mutual respect between English and French speaking Canadians the cornerstone of our common life. I am to address you on the two official languages of Canada. In Quebec, as in Ontario and Manitoba and New Brunswick—in every corner of Canada—there are two official languages, French and English. I am not going to prove by what statute or text of law those two languages have been made official. But taking things as they are, as a result of centuries of history of noble struggle between these two great races who have fought for the possession of Canada, who have tried on the battlefield of America to secure the possession of the northern portion of America—what do I learn as a modern man, as a man who is able to sympathise with the men who are living in the days in which I live myself? I find that the teaching of history and the will of Providence is that, after those great races have struggled

for dominion, the time has come when it was found that it was better for each of them and better for the country at large that they should agree together; not for one to impose its will or language or traditions upon the other, but to combine their traditions; not to merge them into a bastard civilisation that would have left aside the best traditions in each, but to make a living combination of both, preserving to the Canadian people the best traditions, the most precious intellectual possessions of both nations; so that Canada instead of being English and French should be Canadian. The noble alliance between the two races was to preserve for the future generations their best traditions; and that includes the language and literature and all that that gives—the highest expression of their noblest thoughts and feelings.

If this is worth living for and working for, it goes without saying that the representatives of the two great races in Canada must understand each other. Now, the way to understand each other is not either to decry each other nor to flatter each other. It is to be true to each other, and the way to be true to each other is to speak freely and frankly. If there is a threat against the civilisation of Canada, if there is a threat which menaces the ideals of both English and French in Canada, it is that in public life—and by public life I mean not only the sphere of the politicians, but the broad national arena, where both races come in contact with each other, where they work together and against each other at times, where they come in rivalry, where they have their causes of agreement and disagreement—if there is anything which threatens the good understanding between the two great races in Canada, if there is anything which threatens the maintenance of the high ideal which inspired the fathers of the Federation, it is the lack of frankness and free talk between the two races. The disposition to say different things to different classes has been the curse of our country in every sphere of public life. How often have we not read of those who are supposed to lead our people, using different arguments and language when addressing an English-speaking community, from that employed when speaking to a French community? If there is one thing in which I remain British, and thoroughly British in spite of all things to the contrary, it is that in Great Britain more than



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in any other country, you find men who are always prepared to say what they think, and to act according to what they believe is right by their country and by themselves, whether it is profitable or popular or not. A moment or so ago I was speaking to my neighbor here of my visit to England during the dark and troublesome days of the South African War. I had been threatened with hanging and quartering, I had been characterised as a disloyal rebel because I dared say in the House of Commons in Canada what was freely expressed in Great Britain by such men as Mr. Bryce, who was later chosen by the King to go to Washington as his representative, by such men as John Morley, who later on became responsible for the administration of the most important portion of the British Empire, that of India. When I came to London and was asked to express my opinion there I expressed it in exactly the same manner as in the House of Commons of Canada. That expression in Canada had caused two venerable looking ex-ministers of the Crown to leap upon their chairs and sing 'God save the Queen' to drown the disloyal expressions of a man who dared to say in Canada that the South African war was unjust and should not have been helped by the people of Canada. And yet in the London streets, and in the Colonies of the Empire, the same expression of opinion was given to the English pro-Boers of London, Manchester; Birmingham and Liverpool, Glasgow and Edinburgh as a model of moderation, which could be made use of by the English pro-Boer so as not to hurt the feelings of those who were in favor of that war! I said to myself how strange it is that in Canada, a distant colony which has nothing to do with the war, which is not responsible for the war and never has been or will be consulted as to the cause or settlement of the war, a man is not allowed to say things which when said in London are given by the daily press as models of moderation! How strange it is! What divergence of standards between the various portions of the Empire! And that made me come to the conclusion that the first thing was to get into a way of thinking, feeling and speaking, so that Canadians could exchange their views freely whatever they were. And so I came back more British than when I went, and more British even than many who are waving a flag, for they are lacking the first quality of British citizenship, and that is freedom of thought

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and perfectly fearless expression of that thought, whether it is agreeable or not. The Canadian Club can do a great deal in this matter; because whatever the future of Canada, there is one thing sure—that that future will be producing something good for all Canadians, and for Canada, *only* when we have become British and Canadian and manly enough to allow freedom of thought for all legitimate opinion in this country. The first elements of the national organization of Canada are those elements that have grown out of tradition. We cannot undo what has been done in four centuries of history. It has been said frequently that men are not made for constitutions but that constitutions are made for men. Likewise a nation is not built in theory, on the ignorance or the narrowness of any given generation a nation passes through, but builds itself, in spite of passion, in spite of blindness, through what has been accumulated by generations and generations of men and women. What is the historical fact governing the whole history of Canada? It is that Canada was first discovered by the French, and first peopled by the French; that years and years before there was one word of English spoken in Canada the French language was spoken with the utmost purity by missionaries, noble men and women who had sacrificed all that could attach them to their native land—one of the most beautiful, one of the most civilized, one of the noblest lands on earth—and came to this country with the idea of securing an Empire first for Christ and second for the King of France. It may be that in the bosom of some of the French citizens of Canada still remains the thought that it was a sad day the day that French domination disappeared from this country. It may be that in the minds of many English-speaking Canadians dwells at the present time the thought that it would be far better if this country was wholly French or wholly English and Protestant. But we have to take facts as they are—and the outstanding fact remains that the French race developed the country. Canada could not die, every true Canadian should not desire that it should die, and therefore the French, in a century and a half of occupation, planted in the soil of Canada roots of civilisation, both social, civil, individual and intellectual—that should not be disregarded.

We will not discuss whether it was good or bad to assimilate those sixty thousand French settlers on the banks of the St. Lawrence. I admit it was a difficult question whether it would have been for the British Government wise or not to leave those sixty thousand French settlers in possession of their language and institutions, and their civil and social rights. But you should not forget that in a very few years after the conquest was accomplished, when the process of building this nation was still in its infancy, every man, or almost every man who was English-speaking in language and religion, rebelled against the British Crown, and threw the flag into the sea; and if it had not been for the lovers of peace and liberty, you gentlemen of English descent, who are proud of being British subjects, where would you be today in Canada? Where would be the corner of Canadian soil on which you could plant the Union Jack, if those 60,000 peasants had not fought for that flag against the Anglo-Saxon from the south who came and assaulted it in Canada?

And therefore, don't you think that before you decide offhand that it would be far better to have no French spoken in this country—or before you decide to leave the French Canadian to enjoy his privileges in his savage reserve in the Province of Quebec—that you should reflect a little upon this? If there is such a thing, and I believe there is such a thing, as British fair play and a sense of gratitude in the noble race which has become the majority in this country, but which was once the minority, and whose fate as a British race was in the hands of those 60,000 pea-soup eaters in the Province of Quebec, remember what history tells you. It is true that there are times when the relations between the two races are not what they should be. But if you go deeply into the subject, if you study the question without any feeling of party or without any prejudice, if you try to put yourself in your neighbour's feelings, you will find out that most of the misunderstandings between the two races have come from the fact that often the English-speaking majority has counted upon weak-kneed French Canadians who come and give the impression that the French Canadian are always prepared to accept the dictum of the majority, that the French Canadian is a childish race which you can manage easily by a few favors and compliments. The French Canadian is a good, jolly natured



fellow by instinct, but he is not a fighter by instinct. I think I must have some Irish ancestry in me. But if you accumulate on the head of the French Canadian during years and years evidence either of ignorance or illwill or contempt, he takes note of all these little things and accumulates them quietly, and when the time comes—something will happen. There are today more cases of misunderstanding between the two races than there were some years ago. Some say the French Canadians have no grudge. They have a grudge, and the main grudge is that his attachment to his language is not properly understood by the English-speaking Canadians. When Canada has become a civilised country to the full extent of the word, every educated Englishman in Canada, as in London and every civilised country, will be obliged to learn and speak French—because French is today what Greek was two thousand years ago, the highest expression of the noblest thoughts of humanity—because French remains today what Greek was two thousand years ago, the means of the interchange of thought between the whole of the human race—because French, being the most complete, the most thorough and perfect of modern languages, is the means of exchange of diplomatic acts and treaties between governments. Undoubtedly the French nation is weaker than the English, but its language remains supreme, because it has been for three or four centuries perfected and worked upon. The late King Edward VII, one of the noblest sovereigns that the human race has known for the last two centuries, said that if there was one thing which he as an Englishman envied the French race it was their French Academy. Thanks to the work of those men the French language has become today what the Greek language was in the days of old. We in Canada have an enormous advantage over every other portion of the British Empire, in possessing the double inheritance of the French and the British. We have the spirit of organizing, the business spirit, the spirit of co-operation that marks the one; and we have also the enormous advantage of possessing a people who are attached to their language more than they are attached to their country, who are prepared to fight for their language more than for their dollars. Therefore instead of antagonising them and ignoring them, why don't you come and meet them and prove that you are willing to help them

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in maintaining that great inheritance which is not only their moral right but which is also your national asset? Thereby you will prove that you are big enough and broadminded enough not to be afraid of the fact that your fellow countrymen will maintain that language which is the expression of the highest civilization of modern times. You will show yourselves prepared to learn it, and have your children learn it just as the French Canadian understands that to be a thorough Canadian he must learn and speak your language. And all that I ask the Canadian Club of Montreal to do is to give an example and to prove that it is desirous of helping in the noble work of keeping the two great races of this country working hand in hand together, not for one to dominate the other, but for the two to co-operate in making the highest ambitions and faculties of both prevail for the benefit of the whole Dominion.

## II. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

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By J. A. M. AIKINS, K.C., M.P.

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**W**E all, West and East, believe in a United Canada, and a United British Empire. Unless we are united in Canada, Canada may never be strong, and there are difficulties that confront us that will require all our ingenuity to overcome. There should never prevail any inequalities between one community and another, between East and West; no injustice wrought by one part of the community to another part. If there are any such, those inequalities should be levelled, those injustices should disappear. If differences prevail they will result in bitterness, and in alienation of mind and heart. And therefore what is necessary is not simply bands of steel, free railways connecting the Eastern with the Western communities. It is not merely trade between the East and West. It is something deeper, it is something better than that, and that is sympathy. If hearts throb in kindness one to the other in the East and in the West, then that sympathy will overleap the rocks and blot out the wilderness, even though the railways of transcontinental roads may rust, and the ties that support them may rot, and the wheels that go over them may stand still.

Let me say to you that the bond that binds the East and the West together is not a bond of financial obligation or business liability. It has been said, you have noticed it in your papers, and I have heard the statement made in the House of Commons, "But think of the great sacrifices of the people of the East for the people of the West; think, we built the C.P.R., the Canadian Northern and the National Transcontinental for the people of the West." For whose benefit did you build it? Some go so



far as to say, "Think of the elevator we are putting up in Calgary for the people of the West, and Moose Jaw, and the one at Fort William, and even Montreal." The people of Eastern Canada or the people of Great Britain, when they thought of Western Canada, those splendid fertile uninhabited prairies, did not take possession of them for altruistic motives, or for motives of self-sacrifice, but because they thought it to their financial and other advantage to take possession; and I say this, that the development of the West has amply repaid the people of the East for everything they put into it. The people of the West know the spirit of the statesmen of old Eastern Canada; they know what their thought was as they looked far beyond the human sight and saw those magnificent prairies, saw those splendid mountains and beyond them the wealth of the Pacific—their thought was, "In this we may build for ourselves a big nation. Let us develop it now for the Canadians, for our sons and daughters and for posterity, in order that Canada may be a great nation with a splendid future before it, and be a great right arm of the British Empire." And the same was the purpose of Great Britain. And when we think of the spirit of enterprise, of adventure, that influenced the people of the East, our spirit in the West responds to it and we appreciate the advantage we have derived from the splendid history of the British Empire. We are proud to be Canadians, and join hands with the people of Eastern Canada for the purpose of building a splendid nation and securing a splendid Empire. We remember a great Englishman who, about 1609-10, sailed westward with the hope of finding the great waterway to China, and discovered that splendid national bay which will play an ever greater part in the development of Canada. But the day of his discovery was the day of his disaster; for he and his men perished beneath the waters or on the shore; but on that bay will be written, while history and geography lasts, the record of his enterprise and daring, for it will be called Hudson's Bay. We do not forget, either, that here was a Frenchman, Radisson, from Three Rivers, who, in 1659, saw the splendid trading in furs that was coming from the West. And he said if this trade is good why should not we go west? And so he and his brother-in-law went west to the Lake of the Woods and returned wealthy

in furs. They asked the Governor of the French Province of Quebec to give them a license to trade in the West. He refused, unless—and it is no presage of what others have done since—“unless you give me fifty per cent. of the profits,” said he. They refused, and went into the Province of Manitoba and Saskatchewan and remained there a couple of years and then struck out by that road which afterwards was traversed by the first settlers that came into Manitoba, to Lake Winnipeg, and on to Hudson’s Bay, and returned with \$250,000 worth of furs. The French Governor confiscated ninety per cent. of them. And just mark how one little event marked the course of history and led to another great event. Radisson and his brother-in-law appealed to the French Court, but the French Governor was ahead of them, and they obtained no satisfaction. They met Sir John Cartwright and were brought to England; ships were fitted out and there was formed, through the influence of Prince Rupert, the great Hudson Bay Company, the biggest monopoly that was ever in this part of the country. And the Hudson Bay Company for 200 years held the western part of Canada for the British Empire. I shall not refer to the great Canadian who went west and established Fort St. Charles in the Lake of the Woods, and also Fort Rouge, which is now part of Winnipeg, and Fort Lorraine, and brought back the news of that splendid western country. We must not forget our further indebtedness not only to the East but to the British Empire when Lord Selkirk in 1811 took some good Scotchmen and good Irishmen and sent them out to the Hudson Bay to Fort Nelson where they wintered; and in 1812 they struggled up the Nelson River, thence to Lake Winnipeg, and then up the Red River, and in August climbed up the muddy banks of the Red River, and there planted the flag which has stood to this day, the insignia of British power and of true Canadianism. A Canadian in the East has sung—

Hail to the day when the Briton brought over  
And planted his flag with sea-foam still wet;  
Above and around it their spirits do hover,  
Rejoicing to think that we honor it yet.

And what he sang then is true today. No matter what the population of the west of Canada is, wherever they come from,

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whatever language they speak, the British institutions are established, and British liberty and British law prevail in these three prairie provinces.

Another event shows the spirit of the East towards the spirit of the West. When those British institutions, British liberty and British law, were threatened in the rebellion of 1869, then it was that the strong sons of the eastern part of Canada joined with those of central and western Canada to suppress the rebellion, because, they said, "Law and Order must prevail in Canada, at whatever cost. Manitoba and the West is part of Canada and has been part of Canada, and we of the East are interested in it as well as the people of the West." The same thing occurred in 1885 when there was the North-West rebellion. So I say to the people of the East there is no financial obligation that we recognize, but we do know the spirit of the East and the spirit of the British Empire, and the spirit of Western Canada bows in honor to that spirit and responds to it. True, and we will sing as one of your poets has sung here,

Canada, Canada, land of the bravest  
Sons of the Prairie and sons of the sea—  
Land of no slavery, each day thou enslavest  
Millions of hearts in devotion for thee.

But not only do we in the West and the Central part of Canada believe in a United Canada—let me speak freely—we believe in a United British Empire. We are not very much afraid of what may occur about the coast, but we do believe in this one thing, that Canada may yet be a leading factor in the British Empire. We know that while rock and morass may separate, open water never does; and we in Canada are linked by that water to New Zealand, to Australia, to the Cape, and the great Indian Kingdom, and we know that the path across those highways must never be cut by any enemy, and the only way to protect that highway is to maintain the supremacy of the British Empire on the sea. So we believe that it is the duty of Canada to co-operate with the British Empire to see that it maintains that supremacy; because we know that unless that fleet remains unchallenged and unchallengeable upon the sea there is a danger of dismemberment of our Empire, and that is what Central Canada never will stand for. We believe, as



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I have said, in a United Canada and a United Empire; and we say if it is necessary for our protection, out from the Far East, as out from the Far West, stretch the strong arms of stalwart sons to support the old Union Jack—that flag which means a blessing for all the people over which it waves, of liberty, of right to speak their own language and think their own thoughts, not only a blessing to the people but a benediction to the world.

During all these years since Canada became a part of the British Empire, what has protected the Canadian, whether he lives in Canada or roves the world over to foreign countries, what has protected its commerce, what has protected the lives and liberty of the people and the right to think our own thoughts and live our own lives and have recourse to our own laws, is the fact that the British Empire remains supreme on the sea. The British Empire has protected us in our youth, and now Canada, young and grown strong and vigorous, stands beside her great motherland, and says to that grasper of the British tree,

Spare that tree, touch not a single bough.  
In youth it sheltered me, and I'll defend it now.

### III. MEXICO.

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BY C. H. CAHAN, K.C.

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I HAD the pleasure of living for some eight years in Mexico and becoming, as I did, so thoroughly attached to its people and I might say in love with the country, I feel that for me to speak of Mexico at the present time is not to speak entirely without prejudice in favor of Mexico, the Mexican ruler and the great body of the Mexican people. To me it is the great tragedy of tragedies in our day that a great nation of fifteen millions of people, with four centuries of developed civilization, should be lapsing back into barbarism, under conditions which seem to have been brought about by the very hand of Destiny.

Mexico has about 700,000 square miles—a little larger than the province of Quebec—Quebec with its population of two millions of people, Mexico with a population of fifteen millions of people; Montreal Island with a population of 600,000, the City of Mexico and its suburbs, placed high in the Andes, 7,400 feet above the sea level, with a population of about 750,000 people.

Mexico, you are told today, is a place where people cannot read and people cannot write, and where they are lacking in all the elements of civilization. Such is the story of the press. But Mexico in the last four years has never had fair play in the English press to the north of the Rio Grande. How many schools are there in the City of Montreal? About 250 or 300. Mexico City, when I was there, had 550 public and private schools and ten great institutions of learning for professional and technical education. Mexicans, when I first went there, thought all Canadians were Esquimaux, and our ideas of Mexico are about as distorted as their ideas of Canada. But there are certain sympathetic relations between Canada and Mexico. We have made

large investments there. One of the most intelligent and progressive colonies is the French Canadian Colony from Montreal and Quebec. I spoke to President Diaz one day in going out to our works, about Canada, its institutions—political, social and otherwise; and he said “I like the Canadians.” And I asked, “Why, your Excellency?” “Well,” he replied, “you live north of the 49th parallel and we are south of the Rio Grande River, and that ought to induce sympathetic relationships.”

When Cortez came to Mexico there was a population of some thirty millions of people. During the nineteenth century it is known that at least once a year junks from Manila and Japan found their way with living occupants across to the Pacific Coast. The Japanese Minister in Mexico City told me that on the Pacific Coast of Mexico all the common words of the Indian languages, such as bread and fire and the domestic words were Japanese, and that he, without any knowledge of the Indian language, could understand their household topics. The Mexicans themselves are like the Japanese in stature, in color and in many characteristics; and I have no doubt that in the centuries gone by it was peopled with people from Japan and Manila, and possibly from the Chinese Coast. They had built up a wonderful civilization, all their own, up to the days of the Spanish invasion. One reason why Cortez with his few followers was able to make his conquest of Mexico was the fact that the Mexicans had a tradition of a white man who had preached the story of the Virgin Mother of a white Christ; and on the hills in Mexico he found crosses and temples raised to the Unknown God. He and the clergy came from Spain with the same teaching, the same tradition; and to the Mexican the Christian religion as taught by the Catholic priest came as the development of the higher type of the intellectual life. And today there is no more Christian nation on these two continents, more thoroughly imbued with the religious spirit, more amenable to Christian teaching than the Indian population of Mexico. Mexico is not a white race—thirteen millions of her fifteen millions of people are of the Indian race, and the Spanish in Mexico are less than 50,000. There are Spanish descendants in two millions of Mexicans, but the Spaniard is as foreign to Mexico and its traditions as the old British Tory would have been to New England institutions fifty years ago. And just as much



disliked. Now, that race of fifteen millions of people, thirteen millions of them Indian, contains something like 150 different tribes, speaking fifty-two different languages and these languages divided into fifty-five or sixty different dialects. And how does this arise? Simply because Mexico is a vast tableland in the centre, seven to eight thousand feet above the sea level. The different tribes inhabiting the different valleys gradually developed different customs and languages, and have preserved the old Indian traditions through these new institutions as you find them today. Let me give you an instance. Diaz was able to abolish religion; he made it a crime for a priest or sister of charity to appear on the street in a distinctive dress. They wiped out religion by statute, and they did it in the midst of a Catholic population of thirteen to fifteen millions of people. And why? Because Diaz and Huerta, and those who preceded them, strongly developed specimens of the Indian race, are regarded by the people of that country as great Indian chiefs, and the traditional tribal relationships and fealty enabled them to overcome the strongest religious emotions and aspirations of their people; they followed the chieftain, even to the death. They adopted, it is true, the constitution of the United States, but, go into their valleys and find a municipality. The president of the municipality is the tribal chief for the district. The Aldermen are elected, but they are all men who, by the true Indian tradition, would have been the advisers of the local chief of that district, and on this they have engrafted municipal institutions and called them by American names translated into the Spanish, because Spanish is the common language of all the people. What does that mean? We had 8,000 men on our works where I was for eight years. If we wanted a thousand men or five hundred men we did not go out and hire them. We went to the Cazique of a certain district and told him, and he would send his counsellors to see whether our works were properly maintained, whether there was proper housing for the men with their families, whether there was proper hospital and sanitary accommodation, and then, when satisfied, he would send five hundred or a thousand men. They came to us, wood workers or stone workers or delvers in the soil, with their little hakis over them and with every fifty men a little chieftain. Our engineers did the directing, but they came with their

own social and industrial organization fully equipped for the work they had in hand, at the command of the one man in the district in which they lived. Therefore, looking upon Diaz and others as great Indian chieftains, these tribal relationships give them a strong governing power that is absolutely inconsistent with the democratic institutions as we know them. When President Wilson speaks about having an election in Mexico as we have in Canada or the States, he speaks of an absolute impossibility. He is dealing with a country and institutions which are absolutely different from those with which he is familiar. And therefore it has been found impossible to engraft upon Mexicans those democratic institutions which, under English civilization, have been developed through the centuries in Great Britain, United States and Canada. And then they say these people in Mexico are only barbarous people!

This tragedy in Mexico is due to two men. It is due to the fact that when Diaz had grown old there grew up in Mexico a young Mexican educated in the United States, an idealist, a mystic, of Spanish descent rather than Indian, who thought he could engraft on Mexico the institution that he had discovered in the United States—a man permeated with the ideas of social revolution in France, who sought to bring about a revolution in Mexico. Madero, as I saw him, Madero, as I heard him speak, Madero, as I read his statement in the paper, and I say it without any disrespect whatever, Madero, to get it into your brain, was the Médéric Martin of Mexico. It was a real Coxey's army that followed him about, it was an army that was going to have a division of the entire soil of Mexico, and each man was to have his share; there was to be no day on which any man should go for lack of labor, because the Government would pay for it. It was inevitable that that campaign should break down. It was inevitable that Madero should lose his life in Mexico. But I do say this, that with respect to the death of Madero, Huerta was not responsible. The evidence taken before the tribunal in Mexico, properly constituted, at which every diplomat was represented, where the Minister of the United States of America practically controlled the investigation and was present, every diplomat in Mexico, including the Ambassador of the United States, reported to his Home

Government that Huerta was not involved personally in the death of Madero.

Who is this man Huerta? He is not a fool, but a very able man. He is sixty-nine years of age; he was born in the South West; his mother a woman of extraordinary intelligence even in the community in which she dwelt. He was taught in early life thoroughly in the rudiments of arithmetic and writing, and showed some literary gifts. The Colonel of a Mexican regiment, seeing his real native ability, employed him as a lad as an amanuensis. The Mexican, with his four or five centuries of civilization behind him, coming from the valleys into the schools, is capable of the highest intellectual development. He brought him to Mexico City, where he obtained the attention of the then president; he was sent to the college there and cleared out everything in four years in the way of prizes, proving himself an intellectual giant among his peers, and in the end was made a lieutenant in the engineers. From that time his life was spent as an officer in the army. He rose to be a general under Diaz, and when Diaz resigned, thinking that by leaving the country the whole country would be pacified and the United States would be pleased, he escorted him to Vera Cruz and handed in his resignation. "I am a soldier, here is my commission. If ever you want me I will come back." Then without means he went into engineering on a railway in the north. But Madero, overwhelmed in the north, found it necessary to have a general in command, and sent for Huerta. He put down the revolution and would have wiped it out except that Madero interfered, and then he resigned again, his work done. Then there was a smaller rebellion in the north and again Huerta led the Mexican forces against the north, and when he left there was peace. He came back again and Madero asked for his resignation and received it. And Huerta went to work, and then came that last crisis, when the Diaz revolution in the south was beginning and Huerta was sent for again, and again he fought for Madero until Madero's death. As nearly as I can find out, and I have talked to two or three of the actors (I have had a long conversation with two of the three men who were present at Ambassador Wilson's house in Mexico when the resignation of Madero was decided on), Madero in those twelve days of internal fight in Mexico City neither slept nor ate.



He ordered the razing of the city—the whole of the business portion—as it might be outside the Bank of Montreal to where the other soldiers were at the Grand Trunk Station. Huerta asked for further commands. The Senate was called together. They decided that Madero was insane, and insisted on his resignation; they appointed a committee of three to call on him and ask for his resignation, and two of the three senators who called on him he shot dead. The Senate met again and insisted on his resignation. Then the Minister of Foreign Affairs became President under the Constitution, and then being an old man he resigned, and Huerta by the unanimous voice of the Senate, over which he had no control, with respect to whose election he had not a word to say, unanimously asked him to accept the Presidency. Huerta is president *de facto*, is president *de jure*, of the Mexican States; and this at least can be said in his favor, that he represents the unanimous will and voice and has the unanimous support of at least nine to ten millions out of the fifteen millions of that country. The same cannot be said for the gentleman who at present presides over the destinies of the United States of America.

Huerta assumes the governorship, assumes the presidency. Huerta's strong arm puts down insurrection, the only people that are really opposed to him is that northern tier of states representing a population of some two millions or less people, which is impregnated with American capital, American sentiment and American ideas. The United States declares with one voice that it will not interfere with the internal affairs of any other American State, and yet the United States in the second voice declares that the man who is regularly and constitutionally placed in the presidential chair in Mexico is not liked by the President and Government of the United States, and that so long as he stays in that chair, he and the Government of Mexico will not be recognized by the States, although it has been recognized by every European government. More than that, Mexico City is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. It excels Paris in its boulevards. Mexico City represents a high state of civilization in the ruling class—men who are proud of their race, who go back not to the Spanish, but to the old Indian leaders they revere. That race is subject to this treatment, that their

own choice for presidency, because his eyes are black, because his hair now grey, was black, because his face was of a different hue because he is thoroughly Indian, he is not liked by the United States, and must not be recognized!

And then there is incident after incident. There is brigandage in the north; when I was there Villa was chiefly engaged in assassinating American citizens, and the chief duty of the American officials was to make appeals for the protection of American citizens against brigandage and rapine and murder committed by him. Yet we see today, on the eve of the war, the whole influence of the United States bent on currying favor with that half Indian and half negro, who is driving the whole north back to barbarism, who captures his enemies and stands them up by the five hundred to the wall to shoot them in their tracks after they have surrendered to his arms.

And then just picture to yourself that pretty little town of Vera Cruz—forty to fifty thousand people. A beautiful little town, full of churches, the people going to mass in the early morning and coming from mass, the traders about the streets, the hawkers crying their wares or selling their fruit. And they see in the distance the American ships putting in. They have been putting in for weeks and weeks to parade their streets, or for one cause or another. It is not known that these men are coming with hostile intent, there is no suggestion that they are armed, and they land on the shore. But every man carries a rifle and every boat a gatling gun, and they seize the customs and take the public buildings. No notice of war or hostile intent. The people rush to the streets, to be shot down. From one church they say a shot is fired, the American marines enter the church and shoot down the priests as they are worshipping at the altar. All this is not war, no declaration of war even today. And what do the Mexicans say? They say and they think that it is treachery, that it is murder, and if the same things were taking place in Montreal today we would say it was treachery and we would say it was murder. And why is all this? It is done because it is alleged that there has been some insult to the American flag. A boat's crew had put ashore at Tampico, which was in a state of siege, being attacked by hostile Carranza troops. One part of the harbor was under fire. The guard there find an American

boat's crew walking up the street. They detain them for a few moments, carry them two squares under detention until the captain brings them up to a Commander. The Mexican Commander immediately orders their release, and immediately, before any complaint is made, sends out an apology. No notice had been given of their landing, and they were landing while the town was under fire. That apology was repeated by the President of Mexico, and yet we are told that the American flag is insulted, and there must be reparation. Now there is one thing about Huerta. He is an old soldier, but he is no liar in the ordinary sense, and if Huerta says there was no American flag in that boat I for one, who know something of Huerta, am inclined to believe that there was no American flag in that boat. But that is a mere incident. What the real tragedy consists of is this, that you have civilization like your own, a civilization that has carved seven of its present states out of Mexican territory, a civilization that after the war of 1846 with Mexico defeated and took 500 square miles of its 1200 square miles, a civilization that is ever pressing on to the south, a civilization that seems to regard it as its destiny to rule over all these people and to plant the American flag from the Rio Grande to the Panama Canal. That is the probable destiny, that is the tragedy of it all. It is no matter whether we have peace today or tomorrow. If this generation does not see it, another generation will see the American flag carried south to the Panama Canal and possibly beyond, and a great nation of 15,000,000 of people, with a civilization entirely different from their own, a community that is more religious than we are, will be wiped out and placed under the control of the white men for all time to come. That is the tragedy of it.

But let me tell you that if in the working out of that tragedy American troops go from Vera Cruz to Mexico, and Huerta has ammunition, they will make the bloodiest march that white men have made in the last two centuries of the history of white men, because those men love their country, and will die for it.



















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